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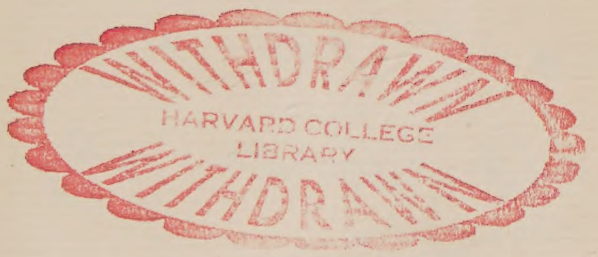
COLERIDGE'S SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICISM

Edited by

THOMAS MIDDLETON RAYSOR

VOLUME I



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TO

E. D. R.

PREFACE

When Coleridge died in 1834 without publishing the literary criticism which he had used as a basis for his lectures, the manuscripts were entrusted to his nephew, H. N. Coleridge, who prepared them for publication. They were composed of unrevised fragments of lecture notes and marginalia and seemed, therefore, to be in a form which would not be acceptable to the public. H. N. Coleridge revised, patched together, and re-wrote the various fragments into the shape of a book, and his text, that of *Literary Remains* (1836-39), has been reproduced in all successive editions of Coleridge's criticism.

The editorial method pursued in *Literary Remains* was perhaps justified at the time by practical considerations, but no student can now be content to accept so freely garbled a text of a great English classic. The alterations of Coleridge's words in his Shakespearean criticism alone run up into the thousands, some of them of slight importance, but in many cases embodying the most grievous errors. The first and chief purpose of the present edition, therefore, is to restore Coleridge's exact words from the original manuscripts, the greater part of which are still carefully preserved.

Since the publication of *Literary Remains* the volume of his Shakespearean criticism has been largely increased by the discovery of short-hand reports of his lectures by J. P. Collier and by a nameless reporter of a Bristol newspaper. These valuable reports, as well as a few brief records in London newspapers, in the diary of H. C. Robinson, etc., were collected by Mr. Thomas Ashe in his edition of Coleridge's *Lectures and Notes on Shakspere* (1883). The present edition, which reprints these materials from the original sources, adds also three unpublished reports of Coleridge's lectures in 1811-12, by a Mr. Tomalin ; a new report of one of Coleridge's lectures in Bristol, taken from a Bristol newspaper of 1813 ; and various miscellaneous

materials never before published, as well as some records from the papers of H. C. Robinson not hitherto collected in any edition of Coleridge's criticism. Finally, the editor has contributed an introduction, critical and explanatory notes, and a historical account of each series of lectures, based upon new materials from the advertisements in contemporary newspapers, upon unpublished letters, and upon various miscellaneous sources.

The unrevised condition of the manuscripts which have been used dictated the following editorial policy. The editor has silently corrected capitalization, punctuation, and spelling ; has silently expanded a few abbreviations, chiefly of proper names ; and has introduced in square brackets certain obvious interpolations. Occasionally he has offered emendations of the text, with due notice in the foot-notes. This policy has been extended to all the manuscripts, including the Tomalin reports and H. C. Robinson's papers as well as Coleridge's own notes for his lectures. The punctuation of the reports from the newspapers, and occasionally the capitalization and spelling, have also justified silent editorial revision. Coleridge's words and the words of the various reporters of his lectures have been preserved literally. The silent revisions above specified have not been extended to any other materials than those drawn from the manuscripts and newspapers. Such *minutiae* of textual criticism as omitted page-references, conjectures, emendations, corrections of quotations, etc., have been relegated to a separate series of notes, indicated by the letters of the alphabet rather than by numerals. Some of the textual notes, however, are of serious importance, because they frequently involve questions of critical interpretation. These notes, which include notices of interpolations from *Literary Remains*, variant readings on textual problems discussed by Coleridge, and interpretations of obscure passages, seemed to belong with the critical notes.

The manuscripts which have been used for the present edition are chiefly to be found in the British Museum. The fragments of lecture-notes, unless notice to the contrary is

given, come from two volumes of manuscripts [1] which the British Museum obtained from Coleridge's grandson, the late Mr. E. H. Coleridge. They are listed as Egerton 2800 and Additional 34,225. The marginalia, unless another source is specified, come also from the British Museum: from an eight-volume edition [2] of Shakespeare's plays which was formerly the property of Coleridge's friend, Morgan; and from Coleridge's own two-volume edition [3] of the plays, which contains blank interleaving for the longer notes. The pressmarks of these two editions of Shakespeare are respectively, C.45.a.21 and C.61.h.7. I wish here to express my thanks to the authorities of the British Museum for the facilities which they have accorded me in using these materials.

As the notes indicate, certain fragmentary lecture-notes, on Shakespeare's poetry and other subjects, come from Coleridge's note-books 18, 24, and 25. These note-books are in the possession of Lord Coleridge, who has kindly permitted me to use them for this purpose. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my sense of personal gratitude to Lord and Lady Coleridge, whose courtesy and hospitality must always remain the most pleasant memories of my work. My obligations to Lord Coleridge are much more extensive than those indicated by my references to the note-books; but the additional marginalia and manuscripts which I owe to his courtesy will be described most appropriately in my edition of Coleridge's non-Shakespearean criticism, which is not yet ready for publication.

The Tomalin reports of Coleridge's third, fourth, and fifth lectures of 1811-12, which were transcribed by James Dykes Campbell, are now in the library of the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge, the great-grandson of the poet. Mr. Coleridge inherited this manuscript volume from the great Coleridge

[1] The editor has given a detailed description of these manuscripts in an article on "Coleridge's Manuscript Lectures," *Modern Philology*, xxii. (1924), 17-25. In one or two details the article is superseded by information given in this book.

[2] London, 1773. Edited by Lewis Theobald.

[3] Printed for John Stockdale, London, 1807.

and Byron scholar, Mr. E. H. Coleridge. Mr. E. H. Coleridge's papers also furnished the transcripts from Coleridge's letters which are used in this edition and a transcript of one of the note-books, which I have used in default of the original, for which I have sought in vain. I cannot more than partly express my earnest thanks to the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge for the use of his father's papers and for permission to include in this book the various new materials from other sources.

The chief remaining sources of my materials are the Bristol newspapers to which I was kindly given access in the newspaper room of the Bristol Library, and the papers of Henry Crabb Robinson,—the correspondence, diary, reminiscences, and miscellaneous papers now preserved in Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London. The Trustees have kindly permitted me to use these manuscripts, with the understanding that no copyright privileges may be attached to my selections, either for editor or publisher. I owe my personal thanks to the librarian, Mr. Stephen K. Jones, for his courtesy and assistance. In one case, in the search for Robinson's fragmentary notes of 1810, I have used to advantage Miss Edith Morley's manuscript index of Robinson's miscellaneous papers, which she has kindly left at Dr. Williams's Library for the use of other scholars.

Although the materials reprinted not from the original manuscripts but from *Literary Remains* are specified in the notes, the reader will wish to know what proportion these bear to the whole. About nine-tenths of the marginalia and lecture-notes in this book are from the original manuscripts, if one includes among these MSS. about ten pages transcribed by E. H. Coleridge from a missing note-book. Most of the material which has eluded the editor's search is included in the comments on *Richard II.*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, and *The Tempest*. About three pages of the marginalia which are published from the original manuscripts have previously appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (vol. xlii. No. 3); and part of the first two sections of the introduction is quoted from a fuller treatment

of the subject in *Modern Language Notes* (vol. xlii. Nos. 1, 8).

This edition of Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism is the direct result of several fellowships. The materials were first discovered while the editor was holding a Sheldon Fellowship from Harvard University in 1922-23. Most of the work was done under the auspices of a fellowship from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in 1926-27; and a research fellowship at the Johns Hopkins University in 1927-28 made it possible to complete the book. To these research foundations, and especially to the Guggenheim Foundation, the editor wishes to express a deep sense of obligation for the means of carrying out his undertaking.

No student of English who passes through the graduate school of Harvard University leaves without a profound sense of indebtedness to Professor George Lyman Kittredge, who has inspired more research in the field of English literature than any other living American scholar. My own gratitude for his influence has a specific cause, for it was he who suggested the use of my new materials for an edition of Coleridge's criticism.

I am indebted to Professor John L. Lowes of Harvard University for his kindness in reading the entire manuscript, to Professor Irving Babbitt of Harvard University and to Professor Ricardo B. Quintana of the University of Wisconsin for criticising parts of the Introduction, to Professor Earl L. Griggs of the University of Michigan for pointing out two fragments of lectures printed in the Morrison catalogue, to Miss Alice Stone of Radcliffe College for valuable information regarding Richter's influence upon Coleridge, to Miss Alice Snyder of Vassar College for calling to my notice a lecture on education published in the *Athenaeum*.

I must add to these personal acknowledgments some reference to printed sources of information which are insufficiently emphasized in the notes. This applies particularly to Mrs. von Helmholtz-Phelan's (Miss A. A. von Helmholtz's) monograph on *The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel*. Though I have interpreted

this influence very differently from Mrs. von Helmholtz-Phelan, my search for parallel passages has added nothing to the facts which she has given. As Mrs. von Helmholtz-Phelan's monograph is easily accessible and prints most of the parallel passages from Coleridge and Schlegel in parallel columns, there can be no longer any need of giving in full detail the evidence of Schlegel's influence. For this reason I have frequently contented myself with a reference in the notes to the parallel passage in Schlegel's works, without quoting. I have translated the passages quoted in the notes, but it has been suggested to me that some students will prefer the original text, and I have, therefore, placed the German text in an appendix. I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Dunstan for his article dealing with the German influence upon Coleridge, published in the *Modern Language Review*, vols. xvii. xviii. Though I cannot accept its general conclusions I have found this article very valuable because of its discussion of the influence of Herder and Schiller. Finally, all students of Coleridge must necessarily make their acknowledgments to Ernest Hartley Coleridge and James Dykes Campbell, scholars who have laid the foundation for all future work upon Coleridge.

The references to Shakespeare in this edition are to the Cambridge text of W. Aldis Wright (1891-93), which has been chosen in preference to the similar Globe text because of the usefulness of its notes in connection with Coleridge's frequent comments upon textual problems.

Perhaps a word should be said about the arrangement of the text. Since no arrangement has Coleridge's own authority, the editor was guided chiefly by the nature of the material, and has given the marginalia priority because of their superior value. Within the classification of tragedies, comedies, and histories, the marginalia have been arranged in the approximate chronological order of the plays. With the fragmentary lecture-notes, the arrangement of *Literary Remains* has been followed as much as was possible.

The editor wishes to call the attention of students to two

references to " Mrs. Milne's Shakespeare " on pp. 4, 23. The editor has no clue to this set of Shakespeare, and is not entirely certain that H. N. Coleridge had access to it. The first reference does not seem to be represented by anything in *Literary Remains* ; but the second may supply the paragraph which is here reprinted on p. 23, from H. N. Coleridge's text.

Another set of Shakespeare's plays with Coleridge's marginalia is that mentioned by C. M. Ingleby in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. ix. (1870), p. 133. This is an edition by Joseph Rann (1786) with marginalia in vols. i. ii. v. vi. It was formerly owned by Mr. Pickering (presumably Basil Montagu Pickering, the publisher and bookseller), but the editor knows of no clue to its whereabouts. It was not among the books which Puttick and Simpson sold for Pickering's estate in 1879. The set is perhaps that which Coleridge used for some of his lectures at Bristol, which have page references to this edition of Shakespeare's works.

THOMAS M. RAYSOR

University of Nebraska

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of English literary criticism there is no work which surpasses in interest Coleridge's lectures upon Shakespeare. A commentary upon the greatest English poet and dramatist by a critic who is himself indubitably a poet of the first rank must necessarily be rich in value ; and it gathers a still greater significance from its historical influence upon Shakespeare's fame. Few English critics before Coleridge had praised Shakespeare ungrudgingly and sympathetically, and none of those few with a critical genius worthy of his subject. Coleridge's power of psychological analysis was original in the highest degree, and it was supplemented by wide learning. As Shakespeare had built upon the labors of lesser men, so his critic drew from the thought of predecessors in the eighteenth century ; and from a foreign source,—from the writers of Germany in the great age of German literature—he gathered ideas which gave philosophical scope and dignity to his criticism. The liberal critics of England and Germany and the severe neo-classicists against whom they had rebelled must all be considered if one wishes to appreciate fully the significance of Coleridge as a critic of Shakespeare.

In spite of some individual variations the neo-classical code of dramatic criticism is so uniform that the charges against Shakespeare remain substantially the same wherever one finds them. "He wanted art," said Ben Jonson to Drummond ; and the critics of the Restoration and eighteenth century tell us in great detail what this curious opinion may signify. Shakespeare violates ruthlessly the sacred unities of time and place, and is not too respectful of the unity of action. He mingles tragic and comic scenes in the same play with barbarous disregard for propriety of feeling ; he ignores the moral purpose of art by allowing the wicked to flourish and the virtuous to perish ; he mars the diction of his plays by passages full of bombast, of obscurity, or of fantastic playing upon words. Almost all of

the important rules based upon the practice of the Greek drama and upon the supposed authority of " nature and reason " were thus flouted so perversely by Shakespeare that their very existence was threatened by his fame. In spite of this feeling, the worshippers of the rules could not deny his power ; it displayed itself generously not only in the study but on the stage, where not even Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher could hold their own, save during the Restoration. The classical critic could not attribute Shakespeare's success to the kindly aid of alterations, for his apparent faults were too fundamental to be hidden by such superficial assistance. One could only say that Shakespeare triumphed in spite of his faults, not because of them ; that in him, as in no one else, the power of natural genius compensated for bad taste and lack of conscious art.

The orthodox creed of neo-classical criticism firmly established itself at the very beginning of the Restoration and maintained its authority for more than a century. But from the very beginning there were isolated protests, like those of Howard,[1] Temple,[2] and the brilliant Farquhar [3] ; and in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century a change was clearly foreshadowed. The increased popularity of Shakespeare's plays on the stage after the season of 1734-35, the rise of Garrick in 1741, the tendency to restore the authentic text of Shakespeare, the favor accorded to the long-despised romantic comedies, the new editions of Shakespeare—all these were indications of a point of view which was not yet represented in Shakespearean criticism. By the middle of the century, however, the number of rebels had slightly increased.[4] And when Kames published his

[1] Sir Robert Howard, Preface to *The Great Favourite* or *The Duke of Lerma* (1668).

[2] Sir William Temple, *Of Poetry* (1692).

[3] George Farquhar, *Discourse upon Comedy* (1702).

[4] At least four protests can be added to those already mentioned : [Sir Thomas Hanmer ?] *Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet* (1736) ; John Upton, *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (1746) ; Samuel Foote, *Roman and English Comedy Consider'd and Compar'd* (1747) ; Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* (1749), Book V, ch. 1.

Elements of Criticism in 1762 and Dr. Johnson his Preface to Shakespeare in 1765, their attacks upon the unities could no longer be considered isolated instances of eccentric heresy.[1] The reviews may perhaps be accepted as representing the average opinions of the time; and the reviews yielded to Dr. Johnson almost without a struggle.[2] After 1762 the disparagement of the unities is fairly common;[3] and neo-classical critics seem timid and isolated in their occasional patronage of Shakespeare. When the romantic movement produced its characteristic literary criticism in the work of Coleridge and his group, scorn of the once-sacred unities could not possibly be regarded as a radical heresy.

The authority of ancient Greek tragedy and of Aristotle as its interpreter could not persist in the face of the relative, historical criticism established by Saint Evremond and his English successors. Kames explained carefully[4] the significance of the chorus in establishing the unities, and showed that the modern dramatist had, in giving up the chorus,

[1] Other protests preceding Kames's *Elements of Criticism* and Dr. Johnson's Preface are as follows: Dr. Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 156 (1751); *Monthly Review*, xiii. (1755), 493-495; [Robert Lloyd ?] *Shakespeare—an Epistle to Mr. Garrick* (1760); *An Essay upon the Present State of the Theatre* (1760). The last-mentioned attack was approvingly quoted by the *Monthly Review*, xxii. 455-460.

[2] The *Monthly Review* (xxxiii. 285-301, 374-89) disagreed violently with Dr. Johnson's arguments, but came to very nearly the same conclusions; the *London Magazine* (xxxiv. 536, n.) gave a reserved, and the *Critical Review* (xx. 329) an unreserved approval.

[3] Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, Book iii. (1761), ch. xii; Daniel Webb, *The Beauties of Poetry* (1762), pp. 103-106; Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (1762), ch. xxiii.; Dr. Johnson, *Preface* to Shakespeare's plays (1765); [Francis Gentleman], *The Dramatic Censor* (1770), i. 17; William Cooke, *The Elements of Dramatic Criticism* (1775), ch. xi.; John Berkenhout, *Biographia Literaria* (1777), Preface, xxxii-xxxiv; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2nd edition (1778-83), viii. 6292-97; Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), ii. 498-501; James Beattie, *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (1783), pp. 186-87; Martin Sherlock, *A Fragment on Shakespeare* (1786), pp. 34-35; Anderson's *Bee*, i. 61-62 (1791); William Belsham, *Essays* (1799), ii. 550-52. Doubtless the list could be extended. Cooke and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* simply take over the discussion of Kames.

[4] Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, ch. xxiii. Kames had been partly anticipated by the anonymous author of *The Present State of the Theatre* (1760).

relieved himself of any obligation to preserve the unities of time and place. The neo-classical critic might still say that ' nature and reason ' supported the practice of the ancients, since violation of the unities made dramatic illusion impossible. But the successful performance of Shakespeare's plays furnished ample evidence to destroy this theoretical argument. And Kames answered theory with theory by pointing out, as Farquhar had done before him, that the spectator of a play accepts imaginatively conventions more difficult to justify to the reason than shifts of time and place. The unities rather forced the dramatist into improbabilities than enabled him to avoid them ; even Greek drama showed that this was true.

The audacity of this argument was even exceeded by Daniel Webb in his *Beauties of Poetry* (1762). Webb declared boldly [1] that the variety of incidents and sentiments in Shakespeare was the direct result of ignoring the unities, which force the dramatist away from action into dull and undramatic narration. After Webb and the influential Lord Kames [2] there was little more which could be said. Dr. Johnson's Preface is important in the discussion not so much because of the newness or soundness [3] of its arguments as because of Johnson's vigor and personal prestige. The great virtue of his preface is the fact that it makes the doctrine of literal delusion seem not merely mistaken, but rather ridiculous.

[1] *Beauties of Poetry*, pp. 103-106.

[2] Kames's book was received with extreme respect and went through seven editions before the end of the century. In translation it became influential in Germany. Lessing warmly approved of the book and seems to use its arguments against the unities of time and place in the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767-68), No. 46. If so, these arguments returned to England through Coleridge.

[3] It is easy to think, perhaps wrongly, that Dr. Johnson denies altogether the possibility of dramatic illusion. This was the impression of the *Monthly Review*, of Edward Taylor, Introduction to *Cursory Remarks on Tragedy* (1774), and later, of Coleridge.

II

With the downfall of the three unities, criticism of Shakespeare's plots almost disappeared, although it might well have continued in a more sympathetic form. The character-analyses which supplanted it in Shakespearean criticism are historically associated with the rising romantic movement, because of the romantic love of personal individuality. But if one considers this type of dramatic criticism primarily romantic, one must remember that it is not necessarily so. The romantic movement merely emphasized ideas which were latent in neo-classical criticism. Even in the midst of patronizing apologies for Shakespeare's violation of the unities, the neo-classical critics habitually recognized the universality and excellence of his characters, which they could praise without the slightest disloyalty to Aristotle. To pass from general praise to essays on particular characters would have been natural, even if the romantic movement had not hastened the process. Joseph Warton, Dr. Johnson, William Richardson, and Thomas Whately—all of them representatives of the new method of criticism—were liberal exponents of the neo-classical point of view rather than conscious rebels. All save Dr. Johnson accepted the unities, and Richardson was strongly opposed to tragi-comedy.

It has been pointed out by Nichol Smith[1] that the method of character-studies was well established by the end of the eighteenth century. The didactic William Richardson, who is the real initiator[2] of the new method, published the first

[1] Nichol Smith, Introduction to *Eighteenth-Century Essays on Shakespeare*, xxxii-xxxviii.

[2] In some measure he had been anticipated. Casual analyses of Shakespeare's characters which may be mentioned are these: John Dryden, "The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy," preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679); John Hughes, "On the Tragedy of Othello," *Guardian*, No. 37 (1713); Joseph Warton, "Observations on the Tempest of Shakspeare" and "Observations on Shakspeare's King Lear," *Adventurer*, Nos. 93, 97, 113, 116, 122 (1753-54); Dr. Johnson, final notes on *Henry IV* and *Othello*, and the note on Polonius in Act II, *Hamlet*, the edition of Shakespeare in 1765; [Francis Gentleman ?], *The Dramatic Censor* (1770), i, 82-83, ii. 15, etc.; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xlii. (1772), 573-76.

of his three books [1] in 1774, but Whately's comparison of Macbeth and Richard III.[2] was written in 1770, and Morgann's remarkable essay on Falstaff [3] in 1774, although both were published after Richardson's first book. Other writers [4] followed their example, especially in periodical essays, which lent themselves naturally to such a purpose. Of these, only the series of three essays on Hamlet, which was begun by Richardson, and Maurice Morgann's *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Falstaff*, require particular attention.

All three of the essays on Hamlet [5] came from Scotland, perhaps because Richardson had greater influence there than in England ; and all three explain the delay of Hamlet's revenge by his weakness of will. They vary slightly in their

[1] William Richardson, *A Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakespeare's Remarkable Characters* (1774). The characters treated are Macbeth, Hamlet, Jaques, and Imogen. The next series (1784) includes Richard III., Lear, and Timon, with an unfortunate neo-classical essay on " The Faults of Shakespeare." The third series (1789) dealt with Falstaff and " Shakespeare's Imitation of Female Characters." The latter subject would have seemed hopelessly barren to the earlier neo-classicists. A character of Fluellen was added in 1812.

[2] Thomas Whately, *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare* (1785).

[3] Maurice Morgann, *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Falstaff* (1777).

[4] Richard Cumberland followed Whately in a comparison of Richard III. and Macbeth (*Observer*, Nos. 69-72, 1786) and followed Morgann in an essay on Falstaff (*Observer*, No. 73, 1786). J. P. Kemble answered Whately in *Macbeth Reconsidered* (1786). Mackenzie contributed an essay on Falstaff to the *Lounger*, Nos. 68, 69 (1786). W. Craig included some brief character-studies in an essay " On Misanthropy " (*Lounger*, No. 91, 1786). There are two studies of Othello, by " W. N." in Anderson's *Bee*, i. 56-62, 87-90, 132-36 (1791) and by Wostenholme Parr in *The Story of the Moor of Venice*, pp. 65-82 (1795). *Essays by a Society of Gentlemen*, Exeter (1796), include character-studies of Iago (395-409) and Shylock (552-73). See also the essays on Hamlet mentioned below.

[5] Richardson, *Philosophical Analysis* (1774) and *Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters* (1784) ; Henry Mackenzie, *Mirror*, Nos. 99-100 (1780) ; Thomas Robertson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, ii. (1790), 251-67. Richardson treats this subject casually and vaguely in his first essay (1774). Though he furnished the first suggestion, Mackenzie should be credited with the first full development of Richardson's idea. The variations of these three analyses of Hamlet's character are very slight. Richardson's second essay, for instance, really contains all of the three explanations, in varying degrees of emphasis.

analyses. Richardson says that the delay is due to a moral fineness which recoils before the bloody duty of revenge; Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*, says that it is due to Hamlet's extreme sensibility, which in a hard world plunges him into melancholy and deprives him of energy; the Reverend Mr. Thomas Robertson, F.R.S., Edinburgh, and minister of Dalmeny, asserts that it is due to gentleness. If Richardson is right, he says, Hamlet's revenge was wrong, which is not the case. All three of these critics anticipate Goethe [1] and Coleridge in emphasizing Hamlet's weakness, and Mackenzie interprets that weakness almost exactly in the manner of Goethe. But Coleridge analyzes the prince's irresolution in his own way. In his own excess of thought over action he found the key to Hamlet's soul. He complained bitterly [2] when contemporaries thought that he was following Schlegel, for he had formulated his theory, as he said, before he saw the *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst*.[3]

The success of Richardson's books and of *The Mirror* makes it probable that Coleridge had seen the essays of Richardson and Mackenzie, although no proof can be offered. But in the case of Morgann's long essay on Falstaff the curious obscurity of the little book makes Coleridge's knowledge of it very uncertain. Like Morgann, Coleridge upholds the paradoxical opinion that Falstaff is no coward,[4] but this fact, which is slight enough in any case, becomes still less significant when one considers the faint echoes of Morgann in Richardson's and Mackenzie's essays on the same subject. If Morgann did not influence Coleridge, he certainly anticipated the method of his character-studies more fully than any other critic. He treats Shakespeare as a supreme and conscious artist, philosophizes over human nature and aesthetic questions, and analyzes the character of Falstaff as if he were not merely a character in a play but also a real human being. This is the method of Coleridge,

[1] *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795), Book iv, ch. 13.

[2] Cf. i. 18-19.

[3] Cf. ii. 209-10, and H. C. Robinson, *Diary*, etc., December 23, 1810.

[4] Cf. ii. 29.

and it is applied with as much sensitiveness and power as Coleridge could show, except in the very best of his Shakespearean criticism.

Not only Morgann but nearly every critic of the new school emphasized Shakespeare's conscious art.[1] Character-studies inevitably brought about this result, as insistence upon the unities inevitably forced the neo-classical critics to think Shakespeare entirely devoid of dramatic skill.[2] The recognition of Shakespeare's art was not merely technical and intellectual, but was part of a generally sympathetic and even reverent attitude towards his genius which shows the influence of those eighteenth-century critics who preferred to emphasize ' beauties ' rather than ' faults,' the followers of Addison and, through Addison, of Longinus. The emotional and imaginative sensitiveness of these critics marks them as precursors of the romantic point of view.

Coleridge does not refer specifically to any of the eighteenth-century critics of Shakespeare except the editors. But it is almost unthinkable that so omnivorous a reader should have neglected entirely his English predecessors. The liberal critics of the eighteenth century probably influenced and certainly anticipated him in his destructive analysis of the three unities, in his studies of Shakespeare's characters, in his emphasis upon Shakespeare's art, and in the sympathetic mood of his criticism. These, and not Schlegel's distinction between romantic and classic, are the most important and valuable aspects of Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism.

III

The German influence upon Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism, though very great and perhaps not yet fully traced,

[1] Especially Cumberland, Mackenzie, and " W. N." With some reservations, Warton and Richardson.

[2] Though no positive evidence has appeared to associate Coleridge with the liberal critics of the eighteenth century, it can be shown at least that his respect for Shakespeare's judgment as an artist antedated Schlegel's lectures of 1808. See *Anima Poetae* (London, 1895), p. 24. Lessing's influence alone would be sufficient to account for this, without either the English critics or Schlegel.

has been, in the past, enormously exaggerated.[1] It cannot be too much repeated that Coleridge's studies of Shakespeare's characters are the most significant part of his lectures and notes, which the English critics anticipated. If, in this regard, the influence of the English critics is uncertain, the possible German influence is so insignificant as to be scarcely worth noting. Very possibly Coleridge received a suggestion from Goethe for his interpretation of Hamlet, though the English predecessors of Goethe are equally probable sources. And after Coleridge had already given fully developed analyses of Shakespeare's characters, he was confirmed in his new method by Schlegel. On three or four occasions he may have taken suggestions from Schlegel's lectures; but these suggestions are so few and dubious that they may be neglected. Schlegel powerfully influenced Coleridge, but not in Coleridge's chief contribution to Shakespearean criticism.

Aside from the character-studies, the German influences are more definite and very important. Among these is the influence of German philosophy, which is plainly recognizable in the Shakespearean criticism, though naturally less apparent than in Coleridge's aesthetics.[2] Coleridge derived from his whole philosophical training, and especially from his study of Kant and Schelling, a subtlety of critical analysis which is one of his chief characteristics. This influence does not yield itself to proof by specific instances, or even to definite generalization; but one may safely point out, following Coleridge himself, that it appears in his tendency

[1] Especially by Professor Brandl in *Samuel Taylor Coleridge und die englische Romantik* (1886); Eng. tr. by Lady Eastlake (1887). None of the influences cited in this book should be accepted without checking the facts.

[2] Kantian aesthetics occasionally appear in the Shakespearean criticism and have been discussed in isolated notes. See the Index, under "Kant." Schelling's oration "On the Relation of the Formative Arts to Nature" was used largely by Coleridge for his thirteenth lecture in 1818, "On Poesy or Art," but this influence need not be discussed in this volume. See Sara Coleridge's notes on this lecture, Coleridge's *Works*, iv. 482-87. The notes in this section of the introduction may be to advantage supplemented by the references listed in the index to each of the German critics here discussed.

to refer products of the imagination to the general principles of mental operations.[1] Kant's critiques constitute a system of psychology as well as of metaphysics, and Coleridge certainly did not confine his use of them to his occasional labored discussions of the reason and the understanding.

Coleridge's relation with Lessing is almost as vague. His known admiration for Lessing, and his enthusiastic acknowledgment of Lessing's significance in Shakespearean criticism have naturally caused students to exaggerate Lessing's direct influence. " It was Lessing," Coleridge said, " who first introduced the name and the works of Shakespeare to the admiration of the Germans ; and I should not perhaps go too far, if I add, that it was Lessing who first proved to all thinking men, even to Shakespeare's own countrymen, the true nature of his apparent irregularities. These, he demonstrated, were deviations only from the *accidents* of the Greek tragedy ; and from such accidents as hung a heavy weight on the wings of the Greek poets, and narrowed their flight within the limits of what we may call the *Heroic Opera*. He proved that in all the essentials of art, no less than in the truth of nature, the plays of Shakespeare were incomparably more coincident with the principles of Aristotle than the productions of Corneille and Racine, notwithstanding the boasted regularity of the latter." [2] Coleridge's tribute seems to indicate that he had forgotten or never known the English critics who had emphasized the art of Shakespeare, and that he had perhaps combined his memories of Lessing and Schlegel. The " weight on the wings of the Greek poets " sounds much more like Schlegel than Lessing ; and Lessing rather suggested than ' demonstrated ' or ' proved ' the views of Shakespeare which Coleridge justly attributes to him. Coleridge seems to imply, moreover, that he, like Lessing, reconciled the admiration of Shakespeare with Aristotelian principles. This is not the case, for Coleridge rather followed Schlegel in treating Shakespearean and Greek drama as two equally admirable but opposite types.

[1] Cf. ii. 237-38. [2] *Biographia Literaria* (Oxford), ii. 182.

With these reservations in mind, one may make Coleridge's general tribute a little more specific, since it is fairly probable that he learned from Lessing rather than from Kames the argument that the unities of time and place depend upon the chorus. This and the general emphasis upon Shakespeare's art are probable influences from Lessing. The attempts which have been made to prove the existence of other influences have been unsuccessful.

The influence of Schiller is more definite. Coleridge's knowledge of Schiller's essay, " On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry " (1795-96), is proved by the fact that he borrowed without acknowledgment a long and significant passage comparing Homer and Ariosto as types of the ' naïve ' and the ' sentimental.' [1] Though we cannot know certainly how early Coleridge became acquainted with Schiller's essay, its immediate influence in Germany makes it probable that he read it at Göttingen in 1799. If so, the general distinction between the naïve and the sentimental, which Schlegel called the classic and romantic, was familiar to Coleridge before he read Schlegel's lectures, especially since it was in some measure confirmed by Herder's essay on Shakespeare. Though Schiller placed Shakespeare among the objective and spontaneous poets whom he calls naïve, he definitely anticipated [2] the brothers Schlegel in associating classical art with a harmonious finite and sensuous unity, and modern art with a less harmonious but more ideal longing for an infinite, unattainable perfection.[3] Schiller even

[1] Schiller, *Essays Aesthetical and Philosophical* (Bohn translation, 1916), 282-84; Coleridge, *Works*, iv. 290-91. This borrowing belongs to Coleridge's lecture on Dante in 1818 and cannot, therefore, be used as absolute proof that Coleridge knew Schiller's essay before Schlegel's lectures. Probably he did; but even if one accepts this probability, the fact remains that the distinction of the classic and the romantic in Coleridge's lectures appears in the phrases not of Schiller, but of Schlegel, however familiar the ideas may have been to Coleridge before reading Schlegel's lectures.

[2] These ideas, it seems, may have been partly worked out independently by Friedrich Schlegel, but were published by him after Schiller's essay had already appeared. See I. Rouge, *F. Schlegel et la genèse du romantisme allemand* (Paris, 1904), pp. 48-49.

[3] *Essays*, pp. 284-88, etc.

speaks of the classical spirit in art as plastic,[1] like the Schlegels. These ideas perhaps gave Coleridge some reason in receiving Schlegel's book as the work of a kindred spirit,[2] expressing ideas like his own ; but there can be no justification for his entire failure to recognize and acknowledge his later indebtedness.[3]

The influence of Herder is similar to that of Schiller. It was pointed out by Brandl [4] that in one of the lectures of May, 1808, Coleridge followed a chapter of Herder's *Kalligone* [5] so closely that Henry Crabb Robinson's notes [6] correspond almost exactly with Herder's subject headings. This lecture dealt with the primitive origins of art, not with Shakespeare ; but perhaps Coleridge knew also Herder's essays in the little book *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*. The second of these essays is a vigorous defence of Shakespeare against neo-classical criticism. It treats from the historical point of view both classical and modern drama, explains the differences as the results of different conditions, justifies the variety of Shakespeare as compared with the simplicity of Sophocles, attacks the unities as irrelevant to the Shakespearean type of drama, defends and briefly explains the dramatic illusion of Shakespeare's plays. Save perhaps in the matter of dramatic illusion,[7] Coleridge did not borrow

[1] *Essays*, p. 288. Coleridge is perhaps influenced by Schiller's essay in at least two minor points. He describes Milton (*Works*, iv. 304) as Schiller does Klopstock (*Essays*, p. 303) as a musical not a picturesque poet ; and like Schiller (*Essays*, p. 272) he dwells upon the superiority of genius to rules, its childlike simplicity, and its divine inspiration (cf. ii. 148). There are, also, possible influences suggested by passages in Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina* (1803). On all these points see A. C. Dunstan, " The German Influence on Coleridge," *Modern Language Review*, xvii. (1922), 272-81.

[2] Cf. ii. 164. [3] Cf. i. 18-19.

[4] Alois Brandl, *Coleridge* (Eng. tr. by Lady Eastlake, 1887), p. 297. Brandl might have added that the subject-matter of this lecture was evidently used again in 1812-13, in the second and third lectures at the Surrey Institution. (Cf. ii. 246.)

[5] *Kalligone*, Zweiter Theil, Kap. 1.

[6] H. C. Robinson's letter to Mrs. Clarkson, May 15, 1808.

[7] Herder, *Werke* (Suphan), v. 227-28. Cf. also *Werke*, xxii. 155 (*Kalligone*), Schiller's Preface to *Die Braut von Messina* (1803), and Schlegel's *Werke* (ed. Böcking), vi. 25, for still more important passages

specific arguments from this essay as he had from Herder's *Kalligone*, but he may well have known it and come under its general influence. Herder was a close friend of Heyne, one of Coleridge's professors at Göttingen, who would probably mention his work. Coleridge's marginalia on a copy of Herder's *Kalligone* in the British Museum indicate some general knowledge of Herder's writings, and it seems unlikely that he could have escaped knowing an essay on a subject which so much interested him.

The last of the smaller influences upon Coleridge's lectures is that of Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*. This influence is supported, so far as the lectures of 1818 are concerned, both by external and by internal evidence. Coleridge himself refers to Richter in the note on "Wit and Humour,"[1] and the whole note is built upon passages from the *Vorschule*. It is doubtful whether Coleridge drew upon Richter for his earlier series of lectures. He says, in 1817, "I have but merely looked into Jean Paul's 'Vorschule der Aisthetik,' but I have found one sentence almost word for word the same as one written by myself in a fragment of an essay on the Supernatural many years ago, viz. that the *presence* of a ghost is the terror, not what he *does*.[2] . . ." Since Coleridge is speaking of the immediate present and has no reason for self-deception, this passage has great weight. His statements of his various obligations are not absolutely reliable, but they should at least receive respectful consideration. Taken alone, the internal evidence of parallel passages would incline a student to suspect that Richter influenced Coleridge's lectures of 1811-12, but the evidence is by no means so strong as to over-ride Coleridge's statement to the contrary.[3] The subject-matter of Richter's book had no direct

which may well have influenced Coleridge's important discussions of dramatic illusion. (Cf. i. 127-31, 199-207.) Coleridge's sources will later be discussed more fully (i. 200-01).

[1] *Modern Philology*, xxii. 23. "Coleridge's Manuscript Lectures," by the present editor. The reference was omitted by H. N. Coleridge in preparing the text of *Literary Remains* and has never been reinstated.

[2] *Letters*, pp. 683-84. Cf. Richter's *Vorschule*, section 5.

[3] Cf. notes on ii. 36, 138-39, 212. Cf. also i. 212, note.

relation with Shakespeare and could be useful to Coleridge only for general principles of aesthetics, as in the fragment on " Wit and Humour."

IV

The influence of Schlegel upon Coleridge is more direct than any of the other influences which have been mentioned and greater than all of the others combined. In a rough count of pages Schlegel might be given credit for forty odd pages of Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism, not mentioning criticism merely suggested by ideas from Schlegel. Such an estimate may be too liberal and would include many doubtful passages ; but when the student finds that the external evidence of Coleridge's acquaintance with Schlegel is beyond the reach of argument, and finds that the internal evidence includes long parallel passages so similar in phrasing as to give reason for the charges of plagiarism, he is naturally inclined to suspect that apparent coincidences are actually influences. No one who has studied the evidence page by page can deny that Coleridge borrowed long passages almost *verbatim* from Schlegel and was largely influenced outside of his direct borrowings.

On the other hand, it is almost certain that the great influence of Schlegel confirmed and developed rather than suggested many of Coleridge's ideas. They had both studied Kant, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and perhaps Richter, and had both been students at Göttingen under Heyne.[1] They were both romantic critics in conscious revolt against the criticism of the previous age, particularly that of Dr. Johnson. Their common background and common subject made coincidences not merely probable but inevitable. Unfortunately, it is impossible to base any comparisons upon the fragmentary remains of Coleridge's lectures in 1808 ;[2] but

[1] Heyne was a friend of Herder and upholder of the historical interpretation of art, who lectured on Greek art, poetry, and mythology.

[2] One could only say that, if the lecture printed on i. 219-20 belongs to the series of 1808, Coleridge was emphasizing Shakespeare's judgment as an artist in lectures contemporary with Schlegel's.

in the course of 1811-12, although the records are still imperfect, they are sufficient to show coincidences between the opinions of the two critics before Coleridge had read Schlegel's book. Excluding their common defence of Shakespeare's morality and his puns, the most important of these coincidences is in the statement of the historical point of view, in their discussion of the unities. Shakespeare could not be judged by the standards established by Aristotle; classical and dramatic drama are both right, in different ways because of different conditions.[1] This is the argument of Herder, who seems to be the source of both Coleridge and Schlegel. Schlegel also borrows Herder's discussion of dramatic illusion, and Coleridge deals with the same subject, though in a somewhat different way.[2] Both mention the "unity of interest" and both explain, like Kames and Lessing, that the chorus was the necessary and only cause for Greek adherence to the unities. These coincidences are marked enough to raise the question of an influence from Schlegel for the earlier lectures of 1811, but this is impossible, unless one is willing to set aside entirely Coleridge's own account of his first acquaintance with Schlegel's lectures.[3]

After the eighth lecture of 1811-12, Coleridge became acquainted with Schlegel's lectures and drew upon them hastily for his own ninth lecture. The distinction between the classic drama of Sophocles and the romantic drama of Shakespeare, which was his chief borrowing, must have seemed to him strongly reminiscent of Schiller in comparing classical poetry with sculpture, though not in the parallel of romantic poetry with painting.[4] Coleridge used this dis-

[1] Coleridge, ii. 71-72; Schlegel, *Werke* (Böcking), v. 11, 12.

[2] One sentence in Schlegel's discussion of the subject is very much in the manner of Coleridge. (Cf. note on i. 200-01.)

[3] Cf. ii. 164, 235-38.

[4] Coleridge might easily have read other very full developments of this antithesis before seeing Schlegel's lectures. Cf. Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, chs. iv, v (sections 16-25), and Schelling's lecture, "Über das Verhältniss der bildenden Künste zu der Natur" (1807), *Werke* (1856-61), vii. 316-18. Coleridge certainly read both of these books at some time or other.

tinction [1] in later series of lectures and borrowed also Schlegel's detailed interpretation of Greek tragedy, old comedy, and new comedy.[2] In considering Coleridge's comments upon Greek masks and the chorus, one must remember that he had a classical education ; but the familiar historical facts of Greek drama form only a small part of Coleridge's borrowings, and even these seem to be taken from Schlegel. Coleridge used these materials for his lectures with so little deviation from Schlegel's text that they amount to free translations. The charge of plagiarism is not quite justified in regard to such preparation for oral lectures, and Coleridge cannot be held responsible for the posthumous publication of his lecture notes without the necessary acknowledgments to Schlegel ; but in the face of such facts, no one can deny Schlegel's great influence upon Coleridge's criticism.

Beside these obvious influences there are others which are less important individually and not always so certain, but in the sum total quite as extensive. Of these it is perhaps sufficient to say [3] that they frequently affect Coleridge's statements of general principles of poetry and Shakespearean criticism, but almost never affect his detailed criticism of particular plays.

Hamlet, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tempest*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, and *Richard the Second* were the plays which Coleridge emphasized. His psychological and aesthetic criticism of these plays, his essay on Shakespeare's poetry in *Biographia Literaria*, and on Shakespeare's method in *The Friend*,—these are the highest attainments of his Shakespearean criticism. They are almost entirely independent of both his English and German predecessors. It could not have been otherwise, for Coleridge is, at his best, fully equal or superior to Lessing, to Schlegel, or to any other of the

[1] Cf. i. 196-98, 222, etc.

[2] Cf. i. 167-73, " Greek Drama " ; Schlegel, *Werke*, v. 179-83, etc.

[3] For fuller information see the notes to this edition of Coleridge's criticism and Anna Augusta von Helmholtz's monograph, *The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907.

critics who are described as his teachers. They were his teachers only in aesthetics ; in criticism of an actual work of art he was as original as a critic may well be. His originality and power were irregularly displayed because they were frequently nullified by his tragic weakness of body and will. But he should not be judged by his worst, or even by his average ; in criticism, as in poetry, he should be read for his best achievements. These do not depend upon plagiarism or even upon the influence of others. They are the products of his own superb genius.[1]

V

Before Coleridge could fully develop his own point of view towards Shakespeare, he was obliged to attack the lingering neo-classical prejudices which still obscured Shakespeare's fame. With the aid of liberal German and English criticism, he undertook consciously the rebuttal of his predecessors. " It has been stated, from the first," he said, " that one of my purposes in these lectures is, to meet and refute popular objections to particular points in the works of our great dramatic poet." [2] In several lost lectures of 1811-12, he singled out Dr. Johnson's great Preface to Shakespeare for persecution, and in all his lectures he recurred to the subject with a persistency which exposed him to the charge of repetition.

One of his smaller but most difficult tasks was the general defence of Shakespeare's conceits and puns, which earlier critics had almost unanimously condemned as contrary to

[1] A good case may be made out to show that Coleridge lost rather than gained from the German influence. Not only is the material which he borrowed consistently inferior to his own criticism, but it encouraged his characteristic weakness for semi-mystical intuitionalism. This is especially true of his eccentric theory of the imagination, derived primarily from Schelling ; but instances might easily be multiplied. (Cf. ii. 244, 249-50, and notes.)

[2] (Cf. ii. 184.) Unless the contrary is stated, the page-references in the following notes are limited to direct quotations from the present text of Coleridge's criticism. The index classifies most of the subjects discussed in the latter part of the introduction.

the classical ideals of pure diction summed up in the word 'correctness.' The neo-classical rationalist adored wit, but he could not easily forgive the exuberant fancifulness of Shakespeare. It seemed to him merely trivial, and in the serious drama it offended his sense of decorum, as Charles Lamb's punning offended the literal earnestness of Carlyle. Coleridge felt obliged to attack the neo-classical point of view, but he himself was too sober-minded for entire sympathy with humorous fancies. His defence of puns depended upon philosophical explanations, which do not seem entirely appropriate, and perhaps did not satisfy even himself. He recognised the intellectual exuberance which inspires Shakespeare's plays on words and insisted that they were at least perfectly natural, because of Elizabethan fashion; but he admitted that the historical argument was not sufficient to justify a poet like Shakespeare, who was not of an age but for all time. Some of the plays on words, like those of the Porter in *Macbeth*, he was anxious to explain away as interpolations. But he saw that others are obviously appropriate to the situation; he emphasized particularly the suppressed indignation and contempt revealed in a punning retort like Hamlet's "Not so, my lord, I am too much i' the sun." All of these criticisms are suggestive, but they suffer from the romantic unwillingness to accept the frivolities of Shakespeare, and from Coleridge's unwillingness to make the necessary admissions to hostile criticism.

Coleridge had a more serious, and therefore, a more congenial task in defending Shakespeare against the charge of coarseness and immorality, a charge which arose from the influence of the middle-class sentimental movement upon the idea of decorum. Coleridge had none of the triumphant earthiness which made Hazlitt appreciate Burns so fully; on the contrary, he wished to emphasize the moral significance even of Rabelais.[1] It is significant also that his Shakespearean scholarship was not sufficient to enable him to speak of Shakespeare's purification of his sources. But his characteristic philosophical arguments were more appropriate in

[1] *Works*, iv. 279.

discussing Shakespeare's morality than in defending his puns. He pointed out that Shakespeare's gusts of laughter drove away the poisonous mist of impurity ; and he made the indispensable distinction between morals and manners of speech. Shakespeare was sometimes indelicate in speech, he admitted. Though it was the fashion of his age, like punning, fashion explains rather than justifies a fault. But Shakespeare was purer even in speech than his literary contemporaries, and in morals as distinct from manners of speech he was profoundly pure. He never confused moral values ; " he never clothed vice in the garb of virtue "[1] like Beaumont and Fletcher or modern sentimentalists. And above all, his essential purity is evident in his whole treatment of love, which is the supreme test. On this subject, Coleridge habitually broke into facile and rather superficial lyricism ; but he was more effective when he turned to an analysis of Shakespeare's women characters, and he deserves credit for his rebuttal, after Richardson, of the curious criticism that Shakespeare was inferior to Fletcher in representing women characters and the passion of love. Coleridge pointed out that Shakespeare is unequalled in this regard ; that his women are perfect examples of the ideal in the real, as women should be ; and that this is the final answer to the charge of impurity.

In discussing the criticism of Shakespeare's puns and coarseness, Coleridge had been dealing chiefly with diction, which interested the neo-classical much less than the romantic critic. Plot was the chief interest of the classical dramatic critic, and he felt, therefore, that Shakespeare's greatest faults were the mingling of tragic and comic scenes, and the violation of the unities. While neglect of the unities was the chief fault which a dramatist could commit, the confusion of *genres* in tragi-comedy was scarcely less censurable. Coleridge had some sympathy with this dislike of tragi-comedy,[2] like many modern critics who do not hesitate to confess their opinions on the subject, except in regard to Shakespeare. To a less degree, he had the same tempera-

[1] Cf. ii. 266.

[2] Cf. i. 76, n. ; ii. 266.

mental difficulty in this case as in defending Shakespeare's unscrupulous punning and humorous vulgarity. He was never at home in interpreting the comic and treated even Falstaff rather heavily and unsympathetically. Indeed, he gave very little attention in his lectures to any of the comedies except *The Tempest*, which generally preserves the serious mood of lyrical romanticism.

The best of his references to this subject is recorded by Henry Crabb Robinson. In the ancient drama, Coleridge observed, " A certain sentiment or passion was exhibited in all its purity, unmixed with anything that could interfere with its effect. Shakespeare imitates life, mingled as we find it with joy and sorrow." [1] This is Dr. Johnson's defence of tragi-comedy, made clearer by the reference to Greek drama. It depends upon a naturalistic conception of art which the classical critic could not accept, since he would argue that the prime function of art is to eliminate the actual dissonances of life in the interest of a single total effect. Coleridge did not attempt to answer directly the classical argument against tragi-comedy, which could be answered adequately only by showing that art which admitted the emotional variety of life could attain to perfect harmony and unity. This was, however, implied in all that he said, after Herder and Schlegel, of the harmonious union of the heterogeneous in romantic drama. And the proof was to be found in the actual impression upon an audience of Shakespeare's plays.

Coleridge does not use his explanation of tragi-comedy to include the method of comic relief, as one would expect; and it is here that he betrays his lack of sympathy with the irrelevancies of Shakespeare's humour. He is even so imprudent as to say that " in no instance can it be justly alleged of him . . . that he introduced his fool . . . merely for the sake of exciting the laughter of his audiences." [2] There should always be in Shakespeare's mind, Coleridge felt, " a loftier and a better purpose " [2] than this; he found it actually exemplified in some of the plays, notably in *Lear*,

[1] Cf. ii. 212. [2] Cf. ii. 74.

and said, therefore, that "the most genuine and real of Shakespeare's Fools is in *Lear*," [1] because, as he said elsewhere, the fool's jests "heighten and inflame the passion of the scene." [2] Hamlet's wild jests, likewise, could be used to illustrate this point, and Coleridge made them the subject of a profound observation on the harmony of the terrible and the grotesque.[3] And less convincingly, he asserted that the fools of Shakespeare's plays supply the place of the Greek chorus, since they are "unfeeling spectators of the most passionate situations.[1]

All of these arguments contribute to one conclusion, that comic scenes in Shakespearean tragedy ultimately reinforce the tragic effect by ironical contrast. In the cases which Coleridge cites this is profoundly true; but his discussion obviously fails to cover the whole subject. If the principle of comic relief means anything at all, it means that comic scenes are sometimes used in Elizabethan tragedy not for any ultimate tragic effect, but for a temporary vacation from tragedy. Shakespeare's ease and exuberance of power permitted holidays from his own purposes, and allowed them to the audience; but to acknowledge this suited neither Coleridge's own wilful earnestness, the earnestness of a lyrical romanticist, nor his piety towards Shakespeare.

The issue was not, and is not, likely to be permanently settled. In regard to Shakespeare, the reverent faith in his artistic conscience which Coleridge and his successors were able to create, and still more, the power of his plays on the stage, have stilled all criticism of his use of comic scenes in tragedy. But in regard to less powerful dramatists, the struggle of classical and naturalistic criticism will continue in the future as in the past. In spite of his naturalistic philosophy of life, Ibsen developed an economical and severe type of tragedy which was almost as inhospitable to comic relief as the tragedies of Aeschylus; and he carried with him most of his successors. But such tendencies have no necessary permanence. Such dramatists as Shaw, Barrie, and

[1] Cf. ii. 212. [2] Cf. ii. 74.
[3] Cf. ii. 274.

Rostand have approached tragi-comedy from the side of comedy as fearlessly as Shakespeare; and a revival of modern tragedy with comic scenes would shock neither critics nor audience.

In no other part of his controversy with eighteenth-century criticism was Coleridge so sure of himself as in defending Shakespeare's violation of the unities, and he brought forward arguments which have probably had a greater historical influence upon Shakespearean criticism than anything else which he ever wrote, except his interpretation of Hamlet. In discussing this crucial subject, he borrowed very largely from Schlegel and other critics, but he also produced some of his own most original and valuable criticism.

We have very little knowledge of what he had said upon the unities before he knew Schlegel, except for a brief passage in the second lecture of 1811-12, in which he brings forward the general historical argument of Herder, refusing to accept Greek tragedy as a criterion for all drama. He then mentioned briefly a more definite argument, which he amplified in the third lecture; namely, that the chorus was the historical cause of the Greek adherence to the unities. Otherwise there would be no reason for the unities, which frequently led even the best Greek dramatists into absurdities and always restricted the number of their subjects.

In all this Coleridge was anticipated by critics like Kames and Lessing. But he had another argument of his own, which is more important as well as more original than any other which he had used. Tomalin's report is not sufficient to give Coleridge's whole argument; but fortunately a discussion of the subject appears in the materials used for *Literary Remains*, and it is perhaps even earlier than the lectures of 1811-12, since the manuscript has an 1805 watermark.

Coleridge saw that the controversy could not be settled satisfactorily without interpreting correctly the effect of a good play upon the imagination of the audience. The

orthodox defence of the three unities was the French[1] theory of literal delusion, which Dr. Johnson ridiculed with devastating power. But in the heat of debate Johnson emphasized too strongly the contrary view that "A play read affects the mind like a play acted." According to the famous Preface to Shakespeare the audience is perfectly conscious that dramatic performances are unreal. This is surely as extreme as the doctrine which Dr. Johnson destroyed, for it recognizes only the rational and not the imaginative state of the audience. Dr. Johnson's exaggeration shows clearly the nature of his characteristic limitations as a critic, which Coleridge exposed with great satisfaction. Coleridge was able to show that the audience feels "a sort of temporary half-faith, which the spectator encourages in himself and supports by a voluntary contribution on his own part."[2] There is no rational belief in a dramatic action like that assumed in the term 'delusion,' but there is an imaginative belief, which may be described as an 'illusion,' almost like that of dreams.

In its full statement this interpretation of dramatic illusion is a deeply significant achievement of literary criticism, because it gives for the first time a simple and obviously sound explanation of a problem on which critics had been confused for more than a century and a half. Men like Farquhar, Kames, Herder, Schiller, and Schlegel had certainly a true feeling of the attitude of an audience; one casual sentence of Schlegel may even have furnished Coleridge with his germinal idea. But the early watermark of Coleridge's manuscript and the date of the Tomalin shorthand report make this rather improbable; and in any case, Coleridge has gone far beyond any of his predecessors in the fullness and finality of his discussion. His explanation

[1] Ultimately Italian, of course. Dr. Johnson, who has been followed by students of English criticism, assumes that this extreme doctrine was also accepted in England. Taylor and the *Monthly Review* deny this, I believe rightly. But if English critics and playwrights stopped short of the French in theory, their practical interpretation of the unities was just as severe.

[2] Cf. i. 200.

of dramatic illusion is his own contribution to the controversy over the unities, and it represents the characteristically subtle and accurate psychological analysis in which Coleridge surpassed all his English and German predecessors in Shakespearean criticism.

After Coleridge had read Schlegel's lectures he borrowed an argument which was henceforth to take a prominent place in his defence of Shakespeare, the distinction between Greek classical and Shakespearean romantic drama: "the deviation from the simple forms and unities of the ancient stage is an essential principle and, of course, an appropriate excellence of the romantic [drama]; . . . these unities are to a great extent the natural form of that which in its elements was homogeneous, and its representation addressed eminently to the outward senses. . . ." Even though Greek tragedy appealed partly to the reason, it was forced to accommodate itself to the senses, while romantic drama appealed directly to the reason and imagination.[1] "The reason," Coleridge said, "is aloof from time and space; the imagination [has] an arbitrary control over both; and if only the poet have such power of exciting our internal emotions as to make us present to the scene in imagination chiefly, he acquires the right and privilege of using time and space as they exist in the imagination, obedient only to the laws which the imagination acts by."

It is very easy to find fault with this German antithesis between classic and romantic drama. It is outrageously patronizing toward Greek tragedy, and absurdly uncritical in the assertion that Greek drama was "addressed eminently to the outward senses." In the attempt to identify Elizabethan with nineteenth-century romanticism, it ignores the similarities of Shakespeare and the Greeks in their steadiness and wholeness of vision, their dramatic impersonality, their consistent success in dealing with profound and universal human values rather than with subjective feeling. Schiller rightly placed Shakespeare with Homer because of his lack

[1] The passage which I omit and summarize is a fantasy upon the Kantian themes of 'reason' and 'understanding.' (Cf. i. 198.)

of self-consciousness, even though he himself was making the distinction between classic and romantic which the brothers Schlegel afterwards developed. Lessing thought Shakespeare nearer to the Greeks in spirit than modern imitators of Greek drama like Racine, and attributed the obvious differences to accidents of theatrical history, like the chorus.

But Schlegel's distinction contains a kernel of truth. If the loose structure of Elizabethan drama is partly an effect of historical causes, still effects may themselves become causes ; and they are in either case subject to philosophical interpretation. The structure of Elizabethan tragedy lent itself to crowded incidents developing a story from beginning to end, developing it for the love of story itself, while the classical drama concentrated upon a single great crisis, to which the dramatist was expected to give a moral interpretation. There is here a valid antithesis between romantic and classic, and it carries with it implications which affect not only the three unities but every phase of dramatic method. Shakespeare's profound interest in individual personality, over and above the needs of the action and sometimes perhaps at the expense of the action ; the rich lyrical suggestiveness of his style ; and above all, his modern naturalistic impartiality toward life, his refusal to mould the chaos of experience into a definite moral meaning—all these set his dramatic genius in opposition to that of the Greeks and associate it with the spirit of modern romanticism and naturalism.[1] Schlegel's [2] antithesis of the classical and romantic was very imperfect ; even the vast development which it received at the hands of Hegel suffers from an evident *parti pris*. But the essential ideas involved are necessary to an understanding and interpretation not only of

[1] An invaluable discussion of this point will be found in *Romance and Tragedy* (Boston, 1922) by Professor P. H. Frye. The paragraph above is deeply indebted to this book.

[2] In referring to Coleridge's source it is correct to say Schlegel's antithesis ; if one referred to origin, Schiller should be named ; and Friedrich Schlegel, Richter, and Schelling all contributed to the development and popularization of the distinction. (Cf. pp. xxvii-xxviii and notes, and p. xxxi, note.)

Shakespeare but of all European literature since the Middle Ages. Coleridge added little or nothing to the discussion himself, but he deserves credit for introducing into English criticism ideas which henceforth became fundamental in the study of English literature.

There are other parallels between Coleridge and Schlegel in their attack upon the unities, and these are probably due to Schlegel's direct influence. Both critics argued that the Greeks themselves sometimes violated the unities; that the trilogy as used by Aeschylus was analogous to a single Elizabethan tragedy, in form, in length, and in changes of time and place. Both pointed out, like Kames and other critics of the eighteenth century, that Shakespeare preserved the unity of action, which Schlegel and Coleridge preferred to call the unity of interest, like Houdart La Motte.[1] Both brought forward the old argument that no reasonable limit of time could be imposed upon the drama, unless the time of performance were expected to coincide literally with the time required for the same events in real life. But there was little new in these arguments, and neither Schlegel nor Coleridge emphasized them so much as the distinction between the classic and romantic drama.

VI

The neo-classical criticisms of Shakespeare's diction and plots were only individual manifestations of a generally patronizing attitude, which was Coleridge's chief obstacle in interpreting Shakespeare's greatness. He felt, therefore, that as the neo-classical critics had generalized their attacks upon Shakespeare by their antithesis between 'Shakespeare's nature and Jonson's art,' so he must generalize his defence by proving that Shakespeare's art was equal to his genius. Though this point of view had been implicit in the liberal English criticism at the end of the eighteenth century and in all of Lessing's references to Shakespeare, it had not been fully developed by any one before Coleridge and Schlegel,

[1] Schlegel acknowledges his obligation; Coleridge does not.

who were independent contemporaries engaged in developing the suggestions for which both were indebted to Lessing. The early lectures of 1811-12 show that Coleridge had clearly defined his own position before he had read Schlegel's lectures,[1] but he was later largely indebted to Schlegel, to whom he made a partial acknowledgment. He was almost too enthusiastic in his acknowledgments to Lessing.

He did not rest his case with the historical argument, but added to it a psychological analysis of the neo-classical attempt to explain away Shakespeare's greatness as a triumph of instinct over art. He pointed out that this throws Shakespeare out of all human analogy and denies the possibility of comprehending his work with the intelligence. In the last resort, it is merely a device for protecting neo-classical dogmas of criticism : since Shakespeare's greatness could not be denied, the authority of his example was nullified by making it a special case which partook of the miraculous. The value of rules could not be denied, said Coleridge, following Schlegel ; he wished merely to question the value of those particular rules which the neo-classical critics applied to Shakespeare. Genius cannot be lawless, for it cannot exist without form, which it achieves through laws originating in itself and appropriate to its own nature. The error in neo-classical dogmatism arose, " as has been well remarked by a continental critic," [2] from a confusion between mechanical with organic form : mechanical form is predetermined and external ; organic form is innate, shaping itself from within according to its natural development.

The remainder of Coleridge's argument consisted of scattered concrete illustrations of Shakespeare's judgment as a dramatic artist. These are not merely exclamations over ' the beauties of Shakespeare,' in the manner of the liberal critics of the eighteenth century, but penetrating critical explanations of Shakespeare's conscious purpose, explanations made delicate, and imaginative, and sure by

[1] Cf. i. 219-20 for a statement of this position which seems to belong to the lectures of 1808.

[2] Cf. i. 224.

Coleridge's own memories as creative poet and dramatist. Only his still greater achievement as a psychological critic could obscure the genius displayed in his analyses of Shakespeare's art, which can be illustrated most perfectly by the attention which he gave to the scenes of preparation, above all in *Hamlet*. This method of criticism which Coleridge used so easily and habitually may indeed be given more weight in proving that Shakespeare's judgment was equal to his genius than Coleridge's general argument. And it is the more significant because in this field of criticism Coleridge was independent of, and far superior to, his English predecessors and Schlegel.

Probably he was not so independent in the development of the historical point of view, which has been mentioned constantly in connection with his rebuttal of neo-classical criticism. This argument that historical conditions must be considered in judging literature was the natural solvent of neo-classical dogmatism, and deserves detailed consideration. Since the long visit to England of Saint Evremond it had become more and more evident in English criticism, but before the time of Coleridge it had scarcely appeared in the controversies over Shakespeare and, indeed, could not have done so, since it was largely dependent upon the knowledge of Elizabethan drama gathered by such scholars as Malone. Coleridge seems to have received his stimulus from Herder rather than from any English critic.

His use of the historical method was severely limited by his knowledge, which was wide, but neither accurate nor detailed. In Elizabethan drama, he knew at first hand the plays of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger, which he used successfully for the comparisons which are fundamental to sound criticism ; but, like most students of his day,[1] he had little or no knowledge of other Elizabethan dramatists and knew, therefore, nothing of the influence upon Shakespeare exerted by his immediate predecessors

[1] The comparative ignorance of Shakespeare's predecessors at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century is strikingly shown by Malone's contemptuous account of the earlier dramatists in the first two pages of *An Historical Account of the English Stage*.

and his contemporaries, dramatists like Lyly, Greene, Marlowe, and Kyd. Even with the contemporaries whom Coleridge knew he was hampered by his desire to prove that the divine Shakespeare was entirely superior to and even distinct from his age. With such a thesis, interrelations between Shakespeare and his contemporaries, or even between Shakespeare and the social life of Elizabethan England, are almost necessarily disparaged. Coleridge had, moreover, no detailed historical information regarding Elizabethan idiom, or Shakespeare's sources, or the chronology of the Elizabethan stage, and was fatally inclined to undervalue such knowledge in favor of critical intuition.[1] But Malone and other editors of Shakespeare had equipped him with enough general historical knowledge for a confident attack upon the standards of neo-classical criticism, which Herder before him had attacked only in the same general way.

It should be admitted that after he had come under the influence of Schlegel, Coleridge sometimes deviated from the historical point of view to a partisan advocacy of 'romantic drama.' This led him towards as exclusive a standard as that of the preceding age, and Coleridge sometimes seems to set up Shakespeare as a final criterion of the drama, just as the neo-classical critics had done with Greek tragedy. In this mood he was capable of extravagantly disparaging the classics, perhaps betrayed by his desperate determination to use Kant's distinction between the reason (which is evidently romantic) and the mere understanding (which is classical).[2] In attacking the three unities, Coleridge managed to argue himself and many of his successors into the belief that they were necessarily and always impediments to the drama.[3] At such moments, as at many others, one wonders whether he would not have been a greater critic if he had not been able to borrow from the Germans whom he pillaged.

But in spite of these occasional aberrations in practice, he generally recognized, at least in theory, the impossibility of

[1] Cf. i. 235-36; ii. 197.

[2] *E.g.* i. 198; ii. 160-61.

[3] Cf. ii. 161, etc.

fixed rules based upon the practice of a single period, and allowed room for both Shakespeare and the Greeks. And on the other hand, he never fell into the extreme romantic relativism of some of his followers, never questioned the possibility and value of general principles of criticism. Perhaps Lessing's protest against *Sturm und Drang* helped to support his own natural good sense ; perhaps the theory even of Schlegel's criticism, since the fine exposition of the value of rules comes from that source. It will be remembered that, when Coleridge used the historical argument to defend Shakespeare's puns and freedom of speech, he explained in each case that his argument was a palliative rather than a justification of Shakespeare ; and these instances are typical of his point of view. Relativism seems to be an essential characteristic of romantic criticism, because of its love of the immediate aesthetic impression and its distrust of all fixed standards ; but in this regard Coleridge was not romantic.

His associations with the romantic movement are much clearer in his insistent demand for sympathetic criticism. It was necessary that some one like Coleridge should say that " it is always unwise to judge of anything by its defects : the first attempt ought to be to discover its excellencies." [1] The theory of neo-classical dramatic criticism, which was not always strictly followed, seemed to assume that the possessor of certain standards of criticism would apply them impartially to all literature and, by balancing ' beauties ' and ' faults,' arrive at a final accounting, either favorable or unfavorable to the writer concerned. Since the authority of Aristotle and his French interpreters was taken for granted, the initial obligation of critical sympathy in interpretation was frequently ignored, and critics assumed the air of guardians of Parnassus, chastising interlopers whose presence was not provided for by the rules of the drama. Not until Addison was there any important protest against this viciously censorious point of view, and not until Coleridge and his great contemporaries was the battle won,

[1] Cf. ii. 122.

though the last quarter of the eighteenth century saw a great development of liberal criticism.

In their anxiety to avoid the dogmatism of their predecessors, the romantic critics hurried to the other extreme and initiated a worship of Shakespeare which confined criticism to appreciative interpretation, without leaving room for standards of judgment. In one flight of rhetoric Coleridge permitted himself to say that " Shakespeare . . . never introduces a word, or a thought, in vain or out of place : if we do not understand him, it is our fault or the fault of copyists and typographers " ;[1] and his general policy in defending Shakespeare against the critics of the eighteenth century was to admit absolutely nothing. When he himself questioned the appropriateness of any particular scene or passage, as he sometimes did, it was always with apologies which now seem excessive. This romantic deification of Shakespeare has been an unhealthy influence in Shakespearean criticism ; at its worst it throws Shakespeare " out of all human analogy," as Coleridge said neo-classical criticism had done, though in another way ; and it nullifies, therefore, the possibility of real comprehension. But it is much nearer the truth than the attitude of ' the judicious Mr. Rymer,' and, as a reaction from neo-classical criticism, it was almost inevitable. At its best, it produced in the romantic age the most penetrating as well as sympathetic interpretative criticism of Shakespeare which English literature contains.

VII

Coleridge's rebuttal of the neo-classical critics marks a turning-point in the history of Shakespearean criticism, and begins the epoch in which we still remain. But his greatest critical achievement in dealing with Shakespeare falls outside the domain of his general ideas,[2] and consists chiefly of

[1] Cf. ii. 145.

[2] This is by no means true of chapters xvii-xviii of *Biographia Literaria*, the great analysis of Wordsworth's theories of poetical diction ; but it

individual critical perceptions, with very few of those general theories with which the history of criticism is concerned. In this regard criticism, as a minor art, frequently resembles a major art like poetry, involving or implying general ideas, rather than directly expressing them. The greatness of Coleridge as a critic of Shakespeare is an illustration of this possibility ; for his highest achievements are in his penetrating analyses of Shakespearean characters and in his profoundly imaginative re-creations of the full impression which Shakespeare may make in a mind more sensitive, more just and experienced, and more intelligent than the minds of normal men.

Coleridge's criticism has often been justly described as philosophical ; but the term carries with it implications which must be avoided before it can be properly applied to Coleridge's noblest work, since it assumes a concentration upon ideas of the most complete generalization. As an aesthetician Coleridge was indeed a philosopher in this essential sense of the word, but he was unfortunately derivative, mediocre, and, in a subject which requires system, fragmentary : he cannot be said to succeed in his occasional violent efforts to engraft his metaphysical conceptions upon his criticism. But he still remains a philosopher in literature in the lay sense of the word, in the sense which conceives sound logic and ethics and psychology as the chief subject-matter of the wise mind, and ignores their relations with metaphysics. This was evidently the meaning of Coleridge himself when he spoke of his " turn for philosophical criticism," [1] which was first noticed in his interpretation of Hamlet's character ; and this was even the meaning of his acknowledgment to Kant, whose philosophy, he said,

cannot be too strongly emphasized that the general ideas even in this part of *Biographia Literaria* are inductive generalizations based upon the personal experience of poetic creation and the observation of the practice of other poets ; they are not in any sense a deduction of art from a metaphysical system, like that branch of philosophy which we call aesthetics. Coleridge's unsuccessful aesthetic speculations may be fairly represented by his unfortunate theory of the imagination in the first part of *Biographia Literaria*.

[1] Cf. i. 18.

had taught him " to treat every subject in reference to the operation of the mental faculties to which it specially appertains." [1] This implies that it was Kant who made him a psychologist, a far too general acknowledgment for a man who was by nature both introspective and acutely analytical. No doubt the study of Kant enormously developed Coleridge's natural tendencies, but it merely developed rather than created his psychological genius.

It is not necessary to discuss at length the logical genius which is so fully displayed in Coleridge's criticism, displayed as obviously as in the criticism of Dr. Johnson, which was in some respects so limited, but in this almost supreme. The greatest lord of black magic in English lyrical poetry, the most incorrigible dreamer in the records of English biography, was at the same time a master of the coldest and hardest analysis, who at those rare, happy moments when he gathered under control his full power, cut deeper and more accurately (be it said boldly, for it is true) than Arnold or Lessing or even Sainte-Beuve. Even in his style, when at its worst it wanders in a maze of qualifications and digressions and after-thoughts,[2] and at its best, when it unrolls long rhythmic sentences, not poetical as one might expect, but dignified in intellectual amplitude, rich in solid good sense, systematic and all-inclusive, one sees the keen analysis which in conversation astonished Coleridge's most brilliant contemporaries as much as the lyrical reveries in which he indulged in public. So incapable were latter-day Boswells of preserving this power and magnificence that one may not judge of Coleridge's conversation by the records which remain, but only by the testimony of such men as Hazlitt and De Quincey and Wordsworth, by the unrevised dictation of *The Friend*, by analogy from fragments of great criticism and fragments of greater poetry.

These matters must be left without argument to the court of each man's individual perception, but it is possible to be

[1] Cf. ii. 237-38.

[2] Parts of *The Friend* or of Coleridge's letters furnish better illustrations of this than anything in the Shakespearean criticism. But cf. i. 188.

more definite in discussing the overwhelming ethical bias of Coleridge's criticism. Though his own character was paralysed by the imperious tyranny of opium, Coleridge's moral perceptions remained sound and vigorous, increasing the agony of his own corruption of will, but ennobling his criticism. It was not due to a misconception of his temperament that he thought of entering the Unitarian ministry, that he wrote sermons for incapable clergymen. When he asked Lamb if he had ever heard him preach, Lamb was almost obvious in replying that he never heard him doing anything else. Sometimes this preaching wavers into an uncomfortable sentimentality, when Coleridge suddenly thinks of a popular audience to be propitiated, or perhaps is driven by self-pity and the necessity of professing artificially the standards which his weakness prevented him from attaining. But this is not often ; and one needs to recall Coleridge's own maxim that one must first comprehend the excellence of genius before one can justly estimate its defects. True of all criticism, this is true nowhere so much as with Coleridge himself, the most perfect example in literature of the possibility of superb power combined with tragic weakness. If his lectures and marginalia sometimes seem sentimental, that is the defect of their virtue, of the constant moral reflectiveness which gives them their characteristic elevation and dignity, and their richness in humane wisdom. At every turn of his acute psychological analysis, he generalizes his perceptions of Shakespeare's characters into perceptions of universal qualities in human nature, which may be read, as in the analysis of Edmund's shame, which generates his guilt, or in the analysis of the jealousy of Leontes, for themselves alone, without the need of reference to Shakespeare's plays.

Such criticism is not like the lovely description by Pater of the Mona Lisa, which may indeed be read for its own sake, like all criticisms of the first rank, but manifestly forgets its subject. However far he may sometimes fall into the inevitable illusion of criticism and read himself into Shakespeare, Coleridge never substitutes for criticism the

lyrical impressionism which seeks to create a new work of art, only nominally inspired by its subject and essentially independent.[1] This mere impressionism would, of course, be more out of place in the psychological analyses which were Coleridge's greatest resource than in any other type of criticism. Though a strong romantic strain is not at all rare among psychologists, they must, like Coleridge or Freud, combine with it keen analytical powers. It is this side of Coleridge's genius which makes him seem so much less the type of romantic criticism than Lamb or Hazlitt or Pater, the great impressionists.

His psychological analyses of Shakespeare's characters may best be studied in a very limited group of eight plays to which he confined his chief interests. The choice of these is significant in more than one way, but especially in that complete indifference to Shakespearean humor which has already been mentioned. The Falstaff plays were neglected among the histories in favor of *Richard II.*, and the lyrical *Tempest* and *Love's Labor's Lost* were chosen to represent the comedies. Coleridge's lyrical interests appeared also in his choice of tragedies, for, after the four greatest, he devoted most of his attention to *Romeo and Juliet*, though he seems to have recognized the superiority of such a play as *Antony and Cleopatra*. In short, the romantic poet re-appears in Coleridge's choice of all these four plays, for even *Richard II.* is full of youthful lyricism. And this play has another special object of interest for Coleridge in the character of Richard, who may be interpreted, even more plausibly than Hamlet, whom he slightly resembles, as a romantic hero whose inner emotional life paralyzes his power of action.[2]

Even in the small group of selected plays Coleridge's differences of emphasis are significant. It was inevitable, of course, that the four great tragedies should be given precedence, and that the problematic character of Hamlet

[1] For a brilliant exposition of this theory of criticism see Oscar Wilde's essay on *The Critic as Artist*, one of the classics of English criticism.

[2] Coleridge's preferences among the plays of Shakespeare are listed by himself in his letter to Britton in 1819. (Cf. ii. 327.) He slightly extends the list just given.

should rouse Coleridge's attention more fully than the character of any other tragic hero. But it is not unfair to Coleridge to add that his interest in Hamlet was not entirely objective and critical. He felt and said that there was something of Hamlet in himself ;[1] and his judgment has been almost universally accepted, save by those few vigorous rebels who reverse it, to find Coleridge in his interpretation of Hamlet. Certainly Hamlet was well-fitted to become a hero of romantic criticism, even if one argues that for that purpose Shakespeare's original intention must be perverted. With more emphasis on emotion and moral scruples, Mackenzie had already anticipated Coleridge, developing a hint of Richardson's. Richardson had in his turn felt the influence of Mackenzie, and had expanded his analysis of Hamlet's character in a slightly different way. In Germany, Goethe had given independently a brilliant exposition of Mackenzie's thesis, which ultimately obscured Mackenzie's priority and the undoubted excellence of his essay. Schlegel and Coleridge developed in entire independence their very similar theories, and were followed by Hazlitt, Campbell, and innumerable others. The number of these critics and their partial independence of each other indicate the sympathy of the romantic movement with the new Hamlet, who had never been dreamed of before. Shakespeare had been misunderstood because he was too far in advance of his age ; or else posterity has read into Shakespeare its own intentions and desires.

Coleridge was naturally jealous of his priority in his analysis of Hamlet, which is probably the most influential piece of Shakespearean criticism which has ever been produced. But his priority rests entirely on his own assertion that he had conceived his interpretation of Hamlet as early as 1798 ; though he quotes Hazlitt to this effect, Hazlitt never saw this challenge, which was published only after both men were dead. Coleridge's memory was not entirely reliable, and his priority cannot, therefore, be established. It is possible, however, to find external evidence which

[1] Cf. ii. 352.

vindicates at least his independence. Not only does J. P. Collier say that he heard Coleridge's character of Hamlet before Schlegel's lectures were published,[1] but a more reliable witness, Henry Crabb Robinson, records Coleridge's interpretation as developed in conversation on December 23, 1810, while Schlegel's lectures on Shakespeare were published in 1811.

Perhaps it is worth pointing out that if we do not know what Coleridge said in the lectures delivered in the early part of 1808, neither do we know positively the contents of Schlegel's oral lectures of the same date. Schlegel published the first two volumes of his lectures in 1809, but he did not publish the third volume, which contained the lectures on English drama, until 1811 ; and this delay was partly caused by the fact that he entirely re-wrote this part of his lectures. It seems that this question of priority must remain as insoluble as the mystery of Hamlet's character ; but it is of less importance than Coleridge thought, since his independence is fairly clear, and since, moreover, his interpretation of Hamlet is so much more sympathetic, penetrating and comprehensive than Schlegel's that he could even forgo the claim of independence without real loss. His superiority over Schlegel in such a comparison is overwhelming.

His conception of Hamlet is still probably more current among scholars than any other, though it constantly undergoes minor variations and frequently seems to amalgamate with Mackenzie's theory that emotional sensitiveness, not excessive reflectiveness, accounted for Hamlet's supposed weakness in action. These kindred theories may, nevertheless, be questioned, above all because of their inconsistency with the impression of vigor which Hamlet seems always to make upon the audience. If Hamlet's weakness was not noticed before the end of the eighteenth century and perhaps still remains unnoticed by audiences, it may be questioned whether Shakespeare, obliged as a dramatist to make his central meaning obvious to the dullest mind, could have had

[1] Introduction to *Hamlet* in Collier's edition of Shakespeare (1842-44), vii. 193.

the intention ascribed to him. Coleridge himself says, " the *general* idea is all that can be required from the poet, not a scholastic logical consistency in all the parts so as to meet metaphysical objections." [1] With the addition that ' the general idea ' is, however, indispensable, this is sound and penetrating dramatic criticism, which can unfortunately be turned against Coleridge himself in his subtle interpretation of Hamlet, or when he remarks in another connection, " Shakespeare, as secure of being read over and over, of becoming a family friend, how he provides this for *his readers* and leaves it to them." [2] Though Coleridge was capable of excellent technical dramatic criticism, his primary point of view as a critic was not dramatic but literary. Like Lamb and Hazlitt, he did not hesitate to say that he preferred reading Shakespeare to seeing his plays performed on the stage.[3] Whatever reason there may be in such a preference —and it is not without reason—it betrays an unfortunate tendency to handle Shakespeare's plays as closet-dramas, which is characteristic of romantic criticism. Closet-drama is not an anomaly in art, as we have sometimes heard, but it is certainly not animated by the purposes of Shakespeare. The result of such criticism is always to subordinate plot to character ; that is, to criticise plays as if they were novels, and to forget the numerous conventions of the drama for the sake of psychology. With the best modern naturalistic drama, as for example with Ibsen, this is possible ; but not with Shakespeare. Shakespeare filled his plays with condensed meaning, which can be fully comprehended only by means of detailed study ; but his central intention was not esoteric. The dramatist who writes with full knowledge of the theatre, and with actual performance on the stage as his first and chief objective—and surely this is the case with Shakespeare—must adapt the general meaning of his play to the comprehension of the groundlings, and has little regard for the paradoxes and hidden meanings beloved of scholars and critics.

[1] Cf. i. 68. [2] Cf. i. 49.

[3] Cf. ii. 85-86, 97, 278, and Gillman's *Life*, p. 280.

The romantic interpretation of Hamlet involves another characteristic defect in its neglect of historical analogies. It has already been pointed out that although Coleridge was a vigorous exponent of the historical point of view toward Shakespeare, his actual historical knowledge was neither wide nor detailed. In consequence, he was ignorant of the contemporary literary analogies to Hamlet's refusal to kill the King because he was at prayer and secure from damnation. He contemned, also, the suggestion that Hamlet's voyage to England might have been introduced by Shakespeare chiefly because of its presence in his source, a motive which, in a semi-historical plot, might be of prime importance. Coleridge interpreted both of these incidents as proofs of Hamlet's unwillingness to act. It should be admitted that he has been followed by many scholars with a thoroughly competent historical knowledge of Elizabethan drama, but his and their interpretation is at least debatable.[1]

It is appropriate here to discuss the chief features, but not to defend or attack Coleridge's whole analysis of Hamlet's character. Fully carried out, such an attempt would require a volume in itself, which would be justified only for the proponent of a new theory. Coleridge's criticism of the play, moreover, contains more than the analysis of Hamlet's character, and this additional material must not be neglected. It scarcely appears in the reports of the lectures delivered at the Scots Corporation Hall in London and at Bristol, but it easily predominates in Coleridge's own manuscript marginalia. In these Coleridge gives nearly half of his attention to the first act of the play, partly because of motives which would attract any critic to so magnificent an act, partly because he loved the supernatural and the psychology of ghost-seers, but chiefly, perhaps, because this especial attention to the exposition was characteristic of Coleridge's

[1] The criticism of Hamlet's character implied in the preceding paragraphs has been deeply influenced by unpublished lectures on the subject by Professor George Lyman Kittredge of Harvard University, and by Professor E. E. Stoll's monograph on Hamlet (Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Studies in Language and Literature, No. 7, 1919).

Shakespearean criticism throughout, and of most good dramatic criticism. Without referring to the character of Hamlet, one could find in Coleridge's criticism of this one act most of the characteristics of his critical genius at its best: the imaginative sensitiveness of observation and description which makes the reader more profoundly conscious of the dramatic illusion; the acute psychological analysis of the character, followed immediately by psychological or moral generalizations from the rich stores of Coleridge's own thought; the comprehension not only of the point of view of the solitary reader, but of the spectator, of the actor, and of the dramatist himself as he plans out his technique.

All this, and much more, appears in the marginalia, not in the short-hand reports of Coleridge's oral lectures. Though these reports are sometimes good, as especially in the case of the lectures on *Hamlet*, *Richard II.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The Tempest*, they are generally far inferior to the criticism embodied in the marginalia. The inferiority of the reported lectures is not entirely due to Coleridge's lack of preparation and consequent extemporaneity. We have been told that short-hand writers found difficulty in following Coleridge, because of the complications and extreme unexpectedness of his style.[1] And even in the lectures for which manuscripts remain, Coleridge seldom attained the excellence which was almost habitual in his marginalia. Though he seems to have found lecturing so easy as to be almost instinctive, his mind was at its best not when faced by the prospect or actuality of an audience, which called forth his vices of rhetoric, but when alone with the work to be criticised, at a moment not dictated by a public advertisement, but determined by the vagaries of his uncertain genius. The fragment was the literary *genre* which was natural to Coleridge, and only in the fragments of marginalia was he entirely himself. He could carry over the results and use them in his oral lectures only in part.

[1] Joseph H. Green in *Notes and Queries*, June 10, 1854. First Series, vol. ix. p. 544. Cf. also Gillman's *Life*, p. 336.

The remaining seven plays of the selected group may be treated more briefly. Coleridge gave twice as much attention to *Hamlet* as to any of the other great tragedies, to *Othello*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*; and, indeed, he made no more of them in his marginalia than of *Richard II*. His psychological genius is most apparent in the analysis of *Macbeth*, which he coupled with *Hamlet* for the sake of contrast. Giving again most of his attention to the first act and to the birth-date of Macbeth's guilt, he develops on his way the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, with a power excelled only in his great analysis of Hamlet. Perhaps he is at his best when he discusses the most delicate problems which he was obliged to face, the degree of the Witches' responsibility for Macbeth's guilt, and Lady Macbeth's character.

His criticism of *Othello* is more difficult, because it is founded on the paradox that Othello is not a jealous character. Coleridge's meaning cannot be understood by means of the marginalia alone,[1] and must be interpreted by means of the conversations reported in *Table Talk*. " There is no predisposition to suspicion, which I take to be an essential term in the definition of the word. Desdemona very truly told Emilia that he was not jealous, that is, of a jealous habit, and he says so as truly of himself." [2] So far as this goes, it is accepted by most students of Shakespeare, and it is valuable because it overturns the interpretation of Schlegel and other critics, who cannot understand Othello's deception without presuming in him a predisposition to jealousy, ' a jealous habit.' These critics find Iago's evidence unconvincing because they examine it deliberately and critically; Coleridge found it sufficient to convince a man not naturally jealous because he regarded only ' the general idea,' as an audience always does under the spell of dramatic illusion. So far, then, most of us would probably agree with Coleridge's theory. But his definition of jealousy is so narrow that

[1] The old text is especially free in the comparison of *Othello* and *Winter's Tale*, and has caused misunderstandings of Coleridge's intention.

[2] Cf. ii. 351.

it hampers him in describing Othello's agony of soul. It was moral indignation and offended honor, Coleridge said truly. But was it not also jealousy?

Though the character of Othello as it is described by Coleridge is not likely to be accepted by students of Shakespeare without some modifications, it is extremely influential and ranks as one of his best achievements in psychological analysis. The case is somewhat different with *Lear*, which offered no good opportunity for the psychological critic in search of problems. "I have learnt, what I might easily have anticipated," wrote Coleridge in 1819, "that the *Lear* of Shakespeare is not a good subject for a whole lecture, in *my* style."[1] Remembering his profound analysis of Edmund's character and of Lear's motives for the division of the kingdom, remembering the sense of dramatic values in his references to the initial improbabilities of *Lear*, we wonder at and refuse to accept so severe a judgment. But it is obvious that a psychological critic would personally prefer the other three great tragedies for his lectures, and might reasonably link with them even *Richard II.*, to which Coleridge gave some of his best criticism. Almost any critic, whether psychological in his interests or not, might feel his inadequacy before the sheer magnitude and terrific power of *Lear*. These are qualities which do not lend themselves to analysis.

One may pass rapidly over Coleridge's criticism of other plays. The title-rôle in *Richard II.* gave him an opportunity for one of his finest character-studies; *Romeo and Juliet* allowed him to express his philosophy of love, especially in the lectures of 1811-12 which were reported by Collier. His discussion of these two plays contains some of his best criticism; but, except for his excellent treatment of dramatic illusion, he was not so completely successful with *The Tempest*, a play which eludes critical analysis by its delicacy as completely as *Lear* by its terrible power. He is more at home with *Love's Labor's Lost*, which with easy mastery he analysed for its poetic style, as a link between his

[1] Cf. ii. 327.

brilliant lectures on Shakespeare's poetry and *Romeo and Juliet*.

It may be doubted whether Coleridge went far beyond these eight plays in his lectures except for an occasional illustration or comparison.[1] Most of the marginalia on other plays are too brief and discontinuous for important character-studies.[2] They include penetrating observations on Shakespearean characters, sometimes questioning timidly and reverently their consistency or truth to nature ; but in the main they are devoted to textual criticism, which is frequently inspired by Coleridge's just indignation over individual notes of Warburton and, less often, of Theobald. In emendations Coleridge is ingenious but rather unreliable, for he had little knowledge of Elizabethan idiom and had no means of collating original editions, even if he had wished to undergo such labor. His conjectures are casual marginal jottings which were never revised by the author for publication. As such they do not represent his final judgment, and must be read merely as brilliant suggestions. In interpretations of obscure passages, however, he is almost always excellent, for he not only used to advantage his unequalled literary sensitiveness but displayed consistently a quality for which he is not always given his due ; namely, solid good sense. And in the midst of these textual notes, he jotted down a few precious aesthetic comments, dealing with diction or metre from the point of view of lyric poetry or touching upon some detail of Shakespeare's dramatic technique. In most of Coleridge's criticism the poet and the psychologist appear together, but in these brief comments the poet appears alone, as in such exclamations of delight as the comment on Puck's song in *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

These purely aesthetic notes are rare except in Coleridge's criticism of the eight selected plays, and even there his

[1] *Winter's Tale* with *Othello* ; *Antony and Cleopatra* with *Romeo and Juliet* ; *Timon of Athens* with *Lear* (cf. i. 108-09) ; *Richard III.* with *Richard II.*

[2] *Troilus and Cressida* is the chief exception to this.

poetical sensitiveness appears chiefly in the imaginative depth and delicacy of his psychological analyses, and in his style. It has already been said that Coleridge's prose style remains strictly within the limits of prose, without encroaching upon the debatable ground of prose-poetry ; his prose was remarkably complex and formal and abstract for a man who had once written poetry of such imaginative simplicity. Not only the sentence structure but the vocabulary is intellectual rather than imaginative. But this generalization must be qualified for an occasional poignant phrase and, more frequently, some eloquent and elevated sentence or paragraph, accumulating power and dignity in each of its stately involutions, as in parts of Coleridge's fragmentary little essay on *Troilus and Cressida* or his interpretation of Milton's description of poetry.

Any comment upon his style inevitably recalls the fragmentary nature of the Shakespearean criticism and the failure of Coleridge to organize and revise the mass of casual notes and jottings which he had used for his lectures. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the obvious results : the style is frequently so unfinished that it cannot be taken as fully representative of Coleridge ; the fragmentary matter is sometimes discontinuous, digressive, and incoherent, and suffers, moreover, from occasional passages of rhetoric in the sentimental manner of Herder and Schlegel—perhaps capable of sounding very well in an oral lecture, but rather hollow when read silently. Frequently the ideas cannot be considered as representing authoritatively Coleridge's final opinions. They would never have been published by Coleridge himself without considerable revision and amplification. In regard to all these difficulties, one must remember the warning from the note-books which his grandson printed in the preface to *Anima Poetae* : " ' Hints and first thoughts ' he bade us regard the contents of his memorandum-books—' *cogitabilia* rather than *cogitata a me*, not fixed opinions,' and yet acts of obedience to the apostolic command of ' Try all things : hold fast that which is good.' "

This caution is applicable to the marginalia and fragments

of lectures as much as it is to the note-books ; but it is too obvious to require further discussion. In this essay I have avoided references to faults which are due to the fragmentary nature of the material. In regard to finish of style, coherence, and freedom from artificial sentiment, one need only turn to the chapters on Wordsworth's criticism and poetry in *Biographia Literaria* to see what Coleridge was capable of achieving at his best. There is no need to dwell on the faults of Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism, for it contains much work which is scarcely inferior even to the *Biographia Literaria*, work so nearly finished that it can frequently be taken as fully representative of Coleridge's best powers ; even the inferior fragments nearly always bear the inevitable impress of his genius.

These chaotic notes have had an overwhelming influence upon the study of Shakespeare. With the aid of Hazlitt's brilliant but reluctant and contemptuous discipleship, Coleridge's lectures initiated and established the great tradition of English Shakespearean criticism. The unhappiness which turned inward his superb analytical powers and forced him to explore his own soul as few men ever have, created an introspective psychologist of supreme genius, and gave him the basis for a knowledge of human motives which no English critic has ever surpassed. In rich ethical reflectiveness, in delicate sensitiveness of poetic imagination, and above all, in profound insight into human nature, Coleridge is a critic worthy of his high place at the head of English criticism of Shakespeare. The greatest of English creative writers received his due tribute from the greatest of English critics.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

B.L. = *Biographia Literaria*, Oxford edition, 1907.
E. H. C. = E. H. Coleridge.
H. N. C. = H. N. Coleridge.
J. P. C. = J. P. Collier.
L.R. = *Literary Remains*, vols. i-ii (1836).

SECTION I

MARGINALIA AND OTHER NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL PLAYS

NOTES ON THE TRAGEDIES OF SHAKESPEARE [1]

[*Titus Andronicus.*]

[Theobald's note (VI. 205) argues against admitting *Titus Andronicus* into the canon of Shakespeare's plays on the ground that it was " on the stage " before Shakespeare had come to London and " had turned his genius to stage-writing."]

That* Shakespeare never " turned his genius to stage-writing " (as Theobald Theobaldicè phrases it) [until he became an actor in London] is an assertion of about as much authority as the precious story that he left Stratford for deer-stealing, and lived by holding gentlemen's horses at the doors of the theatres, and other trash of that arch-gossip, old Aubrey. The metre is an argument against its being Shakespeare's worth a score such chronological surmises. Yet I incline to think that both in this and in Jeronymo [2]

[1] The quotations from Shakespeare which are given throughout the following marginalia are, of course, given by the editor whenever they are enclosed in square brackets. In the original marginalia, the passages stand before the eyes of the reader. Sometimes Coleridge indicates the passages in question by references to the proper column and line, sometimes merely by the position of his comment on the margin or inter-leaf. His references are replaced in the present text either by the passage to which he refers, or occasionally by words enclosed in square brackets which are interpolated in the text. When he indicates the continuation of a quotation by ' etc.,' the continuation is supplied in brackets and the abbreviation ' etc.' is omitted. All comments from the Theobald edition of Shakespeare, which belonged to Morgan, are indicated by an asterisk following the first word of the paragraph in question. All other notes in these marginalia, unless the contrary is specifically stated, come from the Stockdale Shakespeare owned by Coleridge himself. In some cases, the conflict of two marginalia from different sources seemed to require a more conspicuous statement of their origin. In such cases Coleridge's set of Shakespeare's plays is referred to as the ' Stockdale edition ' and Morgan's set as the ' Theobald edition.'

[2] *The Spanish Tragedy.*

Shakespeare wrote some passages, and that they are the earliest of his compositions.

[V. ii. 21-59.
I am not mad ; I know thee well enough :
. . . . . .
So thou destroy Rapine and Murder there.]

These* lines, I think it not improbable, were written by Shakespeare, in his earliest period.

[Coleridge strikes out in lines 40-41 the words here printed in bold-faced type.

Revenge, **which makes the foul offender quake.**
Tit. **Art thou** Revenge ? and art thou sent to me ?]

[*Romeo and Juliet.*] [1]

We have had occasion to speak at large on the subject of the three unities, time, place, and action, as applied to the drama in [the] abstract, and to the particular stage for which Shakespeare wrote, as far as he can be said to have written for any stage but that of the universal mind. We succeeded in demonstrating that the two former, instead of being rules, were mere inconveniences attached to the local peculiarities of the Athenian drama ; that the last alone deserved the name of a principle, and that in this Shakespeare stood pre-eminent. Yet instead of unity of action I should great[ly] prefer the more appropriate tho' scholastic and uncouth words—homogeneity, proportionateness, and totality of interest.[2] The distinction, or rather the essential difference,

[1] " Memoranda on pathos, introductory to *Romeo and Juliet.** *The Gamester*, *Fatal Marriage*, liable to the same objections as novels, (transcribe from the marble leaf of Mrs. Milne's Sh. V. viii)." S.T.C. [*The Gamester* (1753) and *The Fatal Marriage* (1694) are domestic tragedies by Edward Moore and Thomas Southerne respectively. I have found no trace of the marginalia to which Coleridge refers.]

[2] (Cf. i. 50 ; ii. 82.) Coleridge is here borrowing from Schlegel, it seems. " De la Motte, a French author, who wrote against the unities in general, would substitute for the unity of action the term ' unity of interest ' " *Werke* (Böcking), vi. 19. Schlegel refers to Antoine Houdart de Lamotte (1672-1713). His attack on the unities and proposal to

betwixt the shaping skill of mechanical talent, and the creative, productive life-power of inspired genius: In the former each part [is] separately conceived and then by a succeeding act put together—not as watches are made for wholesale—for here each part supposes a preconception of the whole in *some* mind—but as the pictures on a motley screen (N.B.—I must seek for a happier illustration). Whence [arises] the harmony that strikes us in the wildest natural landscapes,—in the relative shapes of rocks, the harmony of colors in the heath, ferns, and lichens, the leaves of the beech and oak, the stems and rich choc[ol]ate brown branches of the birch and other mountain trees, varying from verging autumn to returning spring—compared with the visual effect from the greater number of artificial plantations? The former are effected by a single energy, modified *ab intra* in each component part. Now as this is the particular excellence of the Shakespearian dramas generally, so is it especially characteristic of the *Romeo and Juliet*.

First, the groundwork of the tale is altogether in family life, and the events of the play have their first origin in family-feuds. Filmy as are the eyes of party spirit, at once dim and truculent, still there is commonly some real or supposed object in view, or principle to be maintained—and tho' but equal to [a] the twisted wires on the plate of rosin in the preparation for electrical pictures, it is still a guide in some degree, an assimilation to an outline; but in family quarrels, which have proved scarcely less injurious to states, wilfulness and precipitancy and passion from the mere habit and

substitute the unity of interest for the unity of action may be found in his "Discours a l'occasion des Machabées" (*Les paradoxes littéraires de Lamotte*, Paris, 1859, pp. 449-57). Lamotte's editor, B. Jullien, objects with reason that the unity of interest is by no means a substitute for the unity of action, that the unity of interest is the *end* of all drama and the unity of action, like the unities of time and place, is defended as a *means* to that end. (See the notes of *Les paradoxes littéraires*, pp. 450, 455. See p. 59, note, for another interesting comment.) It is possible that Coleridge knew of Lamotte directly or had heard of his theories from some other source than Schlegel; but it seems distinctly improbable. On this point consult the note on ii. 82.

[a] *Coleridge sometimes uses the symbol for these two words, as in this case.*

custom can alone be expected. With his accustomed judgement Shakespeare has begun by placing before us a lively picture of all the impulses of the play, like a prelude ; and [as] human folly ever presents two sides, one for Heraclitus and one for Democritus, he has first given the laughable absurdity of the evil in the contagion of the servants. The domestic tale begins with domestic[s], that have so little to do that they are under the necessity of letting the superfluity of sensorial power fly off thro' the escape-valve of wit-combats and quarreling with weapons of sharper edge, all in humble imitation of their masters. Yet there is a sort of unhired fidelity, an *our*-ishness about it that makes it rest pleasant on one's feelings. And all that follows to [the conclusion of the Prince's speech [a]] is a motley dance of all ranks and ages to one tune, as if the horn of Huon had been playing.

[I. i. 116-17.

Ben. Madam, an hour before the worshipp'd sun
Peer'd forth the golden window of the east, . . .]

This, but far more strikingly the following speech of old Montague—

[Many a morning hath he there been seen,
With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew,
Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs :]

first proves that Shakespeare meant it [*Romeo and Juliet*] to approach to a poem, which and its early date [are] proved likewise by the multitude of rhyming couplets.

If, as I believe from the internal evidence, this was one of Shakespeare's early dramas, it marks strongly the fineness of his insight into the nature of the passions that Romeo is introduced already love-bewildered. The necessity of loving creating an object for itself, etc. ; and yet a difference there is, tho' to be known only by the perception. The difference in this respect between men and women—it would have displeased us that Juliet had been in love or fancied herself so.

[a] *MS.* ' *p.* 968, [*l.*] 55, [*column*] *β.*'

Romeo running away from his Rosaline to woods and nature, in which she indeed alone existed, as the name for his yearning—contrast this with his rushing to Juliet.[1]

The positiveness of Romeo in a love of his own making—and the boastfulness, never shewn of what's near the heart—again shewn [in Romeo's reply to Benvolio,[a] I. ii. 88-93,

> When the devout religion of mine eye
> Maintains such falsehood, then turn tears to fires ;
> . . . . . .
> One fairer than my love ! the all-seeing sun
> Ne'er saw her match since first the world begun.]

The character of the Nurse [is] the nearest of anything in Shakespeare to borrowing observation. The reason is that, as in infancy and childhood, the individual in nature is a representative. Like larch trees, in describing one you generalize a grove. The garrulity of age [is] strengthened by the [prerogative of a] long-trusted servant, whose sympathy with the mother's affections gives her privileges and rank in the house. [Observe] the mode of connecting by accidents of time and place, and the childlike fondness of repetition

[a] *MS.* ' 45, *β*.'

[1] This paragraph and that preceding sum up accurately, though with no similarity of phrases, Schlegel's defence of Romeo for his love of Rosaline before seeing Juliet (*Werke*, vii. 77-78). (Cf. ii. 144, 156-57, for Coleridge's development of the same theme in the lectures of 1811-12.) Schlegel's criticism does not appear in the Vienna lectures on dramatic art, but in an essay on *Romeo und Julia*, which was published in Schiller's *Horen* (1797) and republished in *Characteristiken und Kritiken* (1801). Coleridge may have seen this essay when he was in Germany in 1798-99, but we do not know that he did so. In default of external evidence, it seems better to pronounce this case a striking coincidence rather than a proof of Schlegel's influence. There are other similarities between the comments of Schlegel and Coleridge upon this play. The family quarrels which are the basis of the play, and the characters of Mercutio and the Nurse are discussed by both critics. (Coleridge, i. 5-8 ; Schlegel, vii. 87-89.) There is little or no evidence of influence in these passages ; but Coleridge seems to be very near to Schlegel in his comment upon Juliet's fright as she drinks the potion. (Cf. i. 11.) The coincidence is nearly as striking as that first mentioned, and may convince many students that Coleridge had read Schlegel's essay. (Cf. ii. 236.)

in her child[ish] age—and that happy, humble ducking under, yet resurgence against the check—

> Yes, madam ! *yet* I cannot choose but laugh
> [I. iii. 51.]

Scene iv. introduces Mercutio to us. O how shall I describe that exquisite ebullience and overflow of youthful life, wafted on over the laughing wavelets of pleasure and prosperity, waves of the sea like a wanton beauty that distorted a face on which she saw her lover gazing enraptured, had wrinkled her surface in the triumph of its smoothness. Wit ever wakeful, fancy busy and procreative, courage, an easy mind that, without cares of its own, was at once disposed to laugh away those of others and yet be interested in them,—these and all congenial qualities, melting into the common copula of all, the man of quality and the gentleman, with all its excellencies and all its faults.

[I. v. 73-81.

> *Tyb.* It fits, when such a villain is a guest :
> I'll not endure him.
> *Cap.* He shall be endured :
> What, goodman boy ! I say, he shall : go to ;
> Am I the master here, or you ? go to ;
> You'll not endure him ! God shall mend my soul,
> You'll make a mutiny among my guests !
> You will set a cock-a-hoop ! you'll be the man !
> *Tyb.* Why, uncle, 'tis a shame.
> *Cap.* Go to, go to ;
> You are a saucy boy :]

The old man's impetuosity at once contrasting, yet harmonized with, the young Tybalt's—but this it would be endless to repeat. Every leaf is different on an oak : but still we can only say, our tongues defrauding our eyes, this is another oak leaf.

[II. ii. The balcony scene.]

The contrast with Romeo's former boastful positiveness. [Shakespeare's] skill in justifying Romeo from inconstancy by making us feel the difference of the passion. Yet this

too is a love in, tho' not merely of, the imagination : as in Romeo and Juliet's language.

[II. ii. 62-65.

Jul. How camest thou hither, tell me, and wherefore ?
The orchard walls are high and hard to climb,
And the place death, considering who thou art,
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.]

With love, pure love, the anxiety for the safety of the object—the disinterestedness by which it is distinguished from the counterfeits of its name.

[This scene should be] compared with [that of] Miranda and Ferdinand—how fine the variety on the same air ; and [note] the truly sweet lingering and *busy*ness [of Juliet].

[II. iii. Friar Lawrence and Romeo.]

The reverend character of the Friar, as always in Shakespeare ; [1] and yet no digression, but carrying on the plot.

[II. iv. 36-96. Romeo jests with Mercutio.]

Romeo's half-exerted, half-real ease of mind, here again compared with [the manner of his love for] Rosaline. His will had come to the clenching point.

[II. vi. 6-11. Romeo and Friar Lawrence await Juliet's arrival.

Rom. Do thou but close our hands with holy words,
Then love-devouring death do what he dare,
It is enough I may but call her mine.
Fri. L. These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die ; like fire and powder
Which as they kiss consume :]

The precipitation which is the character of the play [is] so well marked in both the speakers.

[III. i. 92-95. Mercutio's death.

Rom. Courage, man ; the hurt cannot be much.
Mer. No, 'tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door ; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve : ask for me tomorrow, and you shall find me a grave man. . . .]

[1] Cf. i. 136, 230, 231, 233 ; ii. 145.

The wit and raillery habitual to Mercutio struggling with the pain, giving so fine an effect to Romeo's speech, and the whole so completely justifying him.

[III. i. 149-172.]

The *small* portion of untruth in Benvolio's narration [is] finely conceived :

but that he tilts
[With piercing steel at bold Mercutio's breast.]

[III. ii. 17-19. Juliet waits.

Come, night, come, Romeo, come, thou day in night ;
For thou wilt lie upon the wings of night
Whiter than new snow on a raven's back.]

The imaginative strained to the highest. What an effect on the *purity* of the mind ! Think what Dryden and W.[1] of C. II. would have made [of it].

[III. ii. 85-91.

Nurse. There's no trust,
No faith, no honesty in men ; . . .
. . . . . .
Shame come to Romeo !
Jul. Blister'd be thy tongue
For such a wish !]

The Nurse's mistake of the mind's audible struggles with itself for its decision *in toto*.

[III. iii. 24-30.

Fri. L. O deadly sin ! O rude unthankfulness !
Thy fault our law calls death ; but the kind prince,
Taking thy part, hath rush'd aside the law,
And turn'd that black word death to banishment :
This is dear mercy, and thou seest it not.
Rom. 'Tis torture, and not mercy : heaven is here,
Where Juliet lives.]

All deep passions [are] a sort of atheists, that believe no future.

[1] Wycherley of Charles II.'s reign ?

[III. v. Capulet rages at Juliet for resisting the proposed marriage with Paris.]

A noble scene! Don't I see it with my own eyes? Yes, but not with Juliet's.

And [in Capulet's last speech, note] the mistake, as if love's causes were generalizable.

[IV. iii. 55-58. Juliet's speech:

O, look! methinks I see my cousin's ghost
Seeking out Romeo, that did spit his body
Upon a rapier's point: stay, Tybalt, stay!
Romeo, I come! this do I drink to thee.]

The taking the poison in a fit of fright—how Shakespeare provides for the finest decencies! A girl of fifteen—too bold for her but for [this].[1]

[IV. v. Juliet is supposed dead by her family.]

Something I must say on this scene [2]—yet without it the pathos would have been anticipated [Stockdale edition].

As* the audience knew that Juliet is not dead, this scene is, perhaps, excusable. At all events, it is a strong warning to *minor* dramatists not to introduce at one time many different characters agitated by one and the same circumstance. It is difficult to understand what *effect*, whether that of pity or laughter, Shakespeare meant to produce—the occasion and the characteristic speeches are so little in harmony: *ex. gratia*, what the Nurse says is excellently suited to the Nurse's character, but grotesquely unsuited to the occasion. [Theobald edition.]

[V. i. 1-2, etc. Romeo dreams the night before he hears that Juliet is dead.

Rom. If I may trust the flattering truth of sleep,
My dreams presage some joyful news at hand. . . .]

[1] Schlegel makes almost the same remark in his essay on *Romeo und Julia*: "her imagination falls into an uproar, so many fears confuse the tender mind of the maiden; and she gulps down the contents of the cup in her excitement—which would have shown a too manly resolution to empty deliberately." *Werke*, vii. 84. (Cf. note on i. 7.)

[2] One may read, perhaps, as follows: "Something I must say on this scene; [I cannot entirely praise it], yet . . ."

[Shakespeare's] *fondness for presentiments* and as if aware —yet reconciling with the superstition, all reconciling of opposites—of anything unusual as unlucky ![1]

[V. i. 34-86. Romeo buys poison of the apothecary.

. . . . O mischief, thou art swift
To enter in the thoughts of desperate men !
I do remember an apothecary, etc.]

So beautiful as to have been self-justified. Yet what a fine preparation for the tomb scene.

[V. iii. 59-60. Romeo seeks to avoid combat with Paris.

Good gentle youth, tempt not a desperate man ;
Fly hence and leave me.]

The gentleness of Romeo shewn before as softened by love ; but now by love and sorrow and the awe of the place.

[V. iii. 88-120. Romeo in the tomb.

How oft when men are at the point of death
Have they been merry ! which their keepers call
A lightning before death : O, how may I
Call this a lightning ? O my love ! my wife !
Death, that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath,
Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty, etc.]

Here, here, is the master-example how beauty can at once increase and modify passion. . . .[a]

[V. iii. 290-309.]

A beautiful close—*poetic* justice indeed ! All are punished ! The spring and winter meet, and winter assumes the character of spring, spring the sadness of winter.

[a] *MS.* ' *passion—like the subtle net of* . . . [?]—~~*which Apollo only*~~ ' [*sic*].

[1] Other passages (cf. i. 151, 153) in Coleridge's criticism make it possible to paraphrase this cryptic remark : [Shakespeare's] fondness for presentiments. [He seems] as if aware of the superstition [of thinking] of anything unusual as unlucky ; yet reconciling [this awareness] with [the half-truth of human experience concealed in] the superstition. All [is] reconciling of opposites.

[*Julius Caesar.*]

The power of interesting never was more strongly manifested than in these plays. Why, they really are flesh and blood individuals. More true pathos in Brutus and Cassius' quarrel.

['These plays' are *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Coleridge refers by page numbers to Casca's account of Caesar's refusal of the crown (*Julius Caesar*, I, ii) and Cleopatra's anger at the messenger who tells her of Antony's marriage (*Antony and Cleopatra*, II, v.)]

[I. i. 12-19.

Mar. But what trade art thou? answer me directly.

Sec. Com. A trade, sir, that, I hope, I may use with a safe conscience; which is indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles.

Mar. What trade, thou knave? thou naughty knave, what trade?

Sec. Com. Nay, I beseech you, sir, be not out with me: yet, if you be out, sir, I can mend you.

Mar. What mean'st thou by that? mend me, thou saucy fellow!]

The speeches of Flavius and Marullus are in blank verse. Wherever regular metre can be rendered truly imitative of character, passion, or personal rank, Shakespeare seldom, if ever, neglects it. Hence, [this line [a]] should be printed

What mean'st by that? Mend *me*, thou saucy fellow.[1]

N.B. I say, *regular* metre: for even the prose has in the highest and lowest *dramatis personae*, a cobbler or a Hamlet, a rhythm so felicitous and so severally appropriate, as to be a virtual metre. [Stockdale edition.]

Flavius* and Marullus speak throughout in verse.

What trade, what trade? [b] Thou naughty knave, what trade?

. . . . . .

What mean'st by that? *Mend* me, thou saucy fellow!

[a] *MS.* '*Hence l.* 26, *column a.*'

[b] *Read* '*thou knave.*'

[1] So likewise Steevens.

[The Folios give the first speech to Flavius and the second to Marullus. Seeking continuity, the Cambridge editors give both speeches to Marullus, and Theobald gives both to Flavius: "'tis plain, I think, this speech [the second] must be given to Flavius."]

Aye!* Theobald *thinks!* But Shakespeare thought far better and gave it to Marullus, even as before Flavius had intervened for him. This is nature. "Mend me" is an echo, not the same as "mend *me*." [Theobald edition.]

[I. i. 33.

Mar. Wherefore rejoice? What conquest brings he home?]

For "conquests" I would read "triumphs."

[I. ii. 19.

Bru. A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.]

If my ear does not deceive me, the metre of this line was meant to express that sort of mild philosophic contempt characterizing Brutus even in his first casual speech. The line is a trimeter, each foot containing two accented and two unaccented syllables, but variously arranged.

[A soothsayer | bids you beware | the ides of March.[1]]

[I. ii. 86-87. Brutus to Cassius:

Set honour in one eye and death i' the other,
And I will look on both indifferently.

Warburton[2] reads 'death' for 'both.']

I* prefer the old reading. There are three things here, the public good, the individual Brutus's honor, and his death. The two latter so balanced each other that he could decide for the first by equipoise. Nay (the thought *growing*),

[1] The scansion here is Coleridge's.

[2] Coleridge's frequent rebuttal of Warburton's notes is not due to the use of Warburton's own edition of Shakespeare, but to the frequent references to Warburton in Theobald's edition, to which Warburton supplied many notes. Occasionally the Stockdale edition also quoted Warburton, but not often.

honor had more weight than death. That Cassius understood it as Warburton is the beauty of Cassius as contrasted with Brutus.

[I. ii. 203-04. Caesar's speech.

. . . . he loves no plays,
As thou dost, Antony ; he hears no music.

" This is not a trivial observation, nor does our poet mean barely by it, that *Cassius* was not a merry, sprightly man ; but that he had not a due temperament of harmony in his composition ; and that therefore natures, so uncorrected, are dangerous. . . . " Theobald's note].

O* Theobald ! what a commentator wast thou, when thou would'st affect to *understand* Shakespeare instead of collating his text. The meaning here was too deep for a line tenfold the length of thine to fathom !

[I. iii. Casca re-enters.]

I* suspect that for want of actors the part of some other conspirator was thrown into Casca's. However neglectful of time, Shakespeare never outrages [it]. Casca had but quitted the stage, and he reappears, his language and tone quite altered.

[I. iii. 118-20.

Be factious for redress of all these griefs,
And I will set this foot of mine as far
As who goes farthest.]

You have *spoken* as a conspirator ; be so in *fact*, and I will join you. *Act* on your principles,[a] and realize them in a *fact*.

[II. i. 10-13.

Bru. It must be by his death : and, for my part,
I know no personal cause to spurn at him,
But for the general. He would be crown'd :
How that might change his nature, there's the question :]

[a] *MS.* ' *Act on what your principles.*'

This is singular—at least I do not at present see into Shakespeare's motive, the *rationale*—or in what point he meant Brutus's character to appear. For surely (this I mean is what I say to myself, in my present quantum of insight, only modified by my experience in how many instances I have ripened into a perception of beauties where I had before descried faults), surely nothing can seem more discordant with our historical preconceptions of Brutus, or more *lowering* to the intellect of this Stoico-Platonic tyrannicide, than the tenets here attributed to him, to *him*, the stern Roman republican ; viz., that he would have no objection to a king, or to Caesar, a monarch in Rome, would Caesar be as good a monarch as he now seems disposed to be. How too could Brutus say he finds no personal cause ; *i.e.* none in Caesar's past conduct as a man ? Had he not passed the Rubicon ? Entered Rome as a conqueror ? Placed his Gauls in the Senate ? Shakespeare (it may be said) has not brought these things forward. True ! and this is just the ground of my perplexity. What character does Shakespeare mean *his* Brutus to be ?

[II. i. 83.

For if thou path, thy native semblance on.]

Surely there need be no scruple in treating this " path " as a mere misprint or mis-script for " put." In what place does Shakespeare, where does any other writer of the same age, use " path " as a verb for " walk " ?

[II. ii. 76. Theobald reads,

She dreamt last night,[1] she saw my statue.[2]]

A* modern tragic poet would have written,

Last night she dreamt, that she my statue saw, etc.,

but Shakespeare never avails himself of the supposed licence of transposition merely for the metre. There is always some logic either of thought or passion to justify it. In the present

[1] Rowe's alteration for ' to-night.'

[2] Steevens (1793), ' statua ' ; Cambridge text, ' statuë.'

line we must read " statue," " stătŭā," as in the same age they pronounced " heroes " more often " hērōĕs," than " hērōse."

[III. i. 205-09. Antony speaks to the body of Caesar :

Pardon me, Julius ! Here wast thou bay'd, brave hart ;
Here didst thou fall, and here thy hunters stand,
Sign'd in thy spoil and crimson'd in thy lethe.
O world, thou wast the forest to this hart ;
And this, indeed, O world, the heart of thee.]

I* doubt these [italicized] lines : not because they are vile ; but first, on account of the rhythm, which is not Shakespearian but just the very *tune* of some old play, from which the actor might have interpolated them ; and secondly, because they interrupt not only the sense and connection, but likewise the flow both of the passion and (what is with me still more decisive) the Shakespearian link of association. As with the parenthesis or gloss slipt into the text concerning Jonah in the Gospel,[1] we have only to read the passage without it to see that it never was in it. I venture to say there is no instance in Shakespeare fairly like it. Conceits he has, but they not [only] rise out of some *word* in the lines before, but they *lead* to the thought in the lines following. Here it is a mere alien : Antony forgets an image, when he is even touching it ; and then recollects it when the thought last in his mind must have led him away from it.

[IV. iii. 21-24. Brutus to Cassius :

What, shall one of us,
That struck the foremost man of all this world
But for supporting robbers, shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes . . . ?]

This* seemingly strange assertion of Brutus is unhappily verified in the present day. What are an immense army, in whom the lust of plunder has quenched all the duties of the citizen, other than robbers, or differenced only as fiends from reprobate men ? Caesar supported, and was supported by, these—even as Napoleon in our days. S.T.C.

[1] Probably a reference to Matt. xii. 40.

[IV. iii. The quarrel of Brutus and Cassius.]

I* know no part of Shakespeare that more impresses on me the belief of his genius being superhuman than this scene. In the Gnostic heresy it might have been credited with less absurdity than most of their dogmas, that the Supreme had employed him to *create* previously to his function of representing. S.T.C.

[*Hamlet.*] [1]

Hamlet was the play, or rather Hamlet himself was the character in the intuition and exposition of which I first made my turn for philosophical criticism, and especially for insight into the genius of Shakespeare, *noticed*; first among my acquaintances, as Sir George Beaumont will bear witness,[2] and as Mr. Wordsworth knows, tho' from motives which I do not know or impulses which I *cannot* know, he has thought proper to assert that Schlegel and the German critics *first* taught Englishmen to admire their own great countryman intelligently; [3] and secondly, long before Schlegel had given at Vienna the lectures on Shakespeare which he afterwards published,[4] I had given eighteen lectures on the same subject, *substantially* the same, proceeding from the same, the *very* same point of view, and deducing the same conclusions, as far as I either then or now agree with him. I gave them at the Royal Institution, before from six to seven hundred auditors of rank and eminence,

[1] At first sight these notes on *Hamlet* will seem incomplete in comparison with those in *L.R.*, because H.N.C. interpolated in the manuscripts his revision of the newspaper report of Coleridge's third lecture at Bristol in 1813, which, in the present edition, may be found on ii. 666-71. These notes are in other respects complete, but they include on i. 23 eight lines reprinted from *L.R.* It does not seem desirable to explain in detail the weaving together in *L.R.* of the three separate MS. sources with the newspaper report.

[2] Coleridge mentions his analysis of Hamlet's character in a letter addressed to Sir George Beaumont, February 1, 1804, but he does not specify what it was. *Memorials of Coleorton*, i. 48.

[3] Cf. ii. 306, and note.

[4] Coleridge seems to have thought that Schlegel's lectures were delivered in 1810 instead of 1808. (Cf. ii. 237, 306.)

in the spring of the same year in which Sir Humphry Davy, a fellow-lecturer, made his great revolutionary discoveries in chemistry.[1] Even in detail the coincidence of Schlegel with my lectures was so extraordinary that all at a later period who heard the same words (taken from my Royal Institution notes) concluded a borrowing on my part from Schlegel.[2] Mr. Hazlitt, whose hatred of me is in such an inverse ratio to my zealous kindness toward him as to be defended by his warmest admirer, C. Lamb (who, besides his characteristic obstinacy of adherence to old friends, as long at least as they are at all down in the world, is linked as by a charm to Hazlitt's conversation), only under the epithet of "*frantic*"—Mr. Hazlitt himself replied to an assertion of my plagiarism from Schlegel in these words: "That is a lie; for I myself heard the very same character of Hamlet from Coleridge before he went to Germany and when he had neither read [n]or could read a page of German."[3] Now Hazlitt was on a visit to my cottage at Nether Stowey, Somerset, in the summer of the year 1798, in the September of which (see my Literary Life)[4] I first was out of sight of the shores of Great Britain.

Recorded by me, S. T. Coleridge, Jan^{y}. 7, 1819. Highgate.

[1] Coleridge's first series of lectures was given in 1808. Humphry Davy decomposed the fixed alkalies, potash and soda, in October, 1807, and announced his discoveries in the Bakerian lecture to the Royal Society of November, 1807; but Coleridge probably heard of the discoveries for the first time in the public announcement on January 13, 1808, by the Rev. Mr. Dibden. This announcement was printed January 18, 1808. See Bence Jones, *The Royal Institution* (London, 1871), pp. 283, 347, 350 ff.

[2] For other assertions of independence of Schlegel, cf. ii. 164, 235-38, 306, and *B.L.* i. 22, n., 102.

[3] This note was not published until after the death of both Hazlitt and Coleridge; but it is not at all certain that Hazlitt would have given the necessary testimony, if he had been alive to do so. His Preface to *The Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* praises Schlegel and ignores Coleridge, and this could scarcely have been other than deliberate, coming from Hazlitt. Luckily substitutes for Hazlitt appeared in the persons of Henry Crabb Robinson and J. P. Collier. (Cf. Introduction, pp. lii-liii.)

[4] *B.L.* ii. 132.

Compare the easy language of common life in which this drama opens, with the wild wayward lyric of the opening of *Macbeth*. The language is familiar : no poetic descriptions of night, no elaborate information conveyed by one speaker to another of what both had before their immediate perceptions (such as the first distich in Addison's *Cato*,[1] which is a translation into poetry of " Past four o'clock, and a damp morning ")—yet nothing bordering on the comic on the one hand, and no striving of the intellect on the other. It is the language of *sensation* among men who feared no charge of effeminacy for feeling what they felt no want of resolution to bear. Yet the armour, the dead silence, the watchfulness that first interrupts it, the welcome relief of guard, the cold, the broken expressions as of a man's compelled attention to bodily feelings allowed no man,—all excellently accord with and prepare for the after gradual rise into tragedy—but above all into a tragedy the interest of which is eminently *ad et apud intra*, as *Macbeth* . . . [?] is *ad extra*.

The preparation *informative* of the audience [is] just as much as was precisely necessary : how gradual first, and with the uncertainty appertaining to a question—

What, has *this thing* appeared *again* to-night.

Even the word " again " has its *credibilizing* effect. Then the representative of the ignorance of the audience, Horatio (not himself but [quoted by] Marcellus to Bernardo) anticipates the common solution, " 'tis but our phantasy." But Marcellus rises secondly into " [this] dreaded sight." Then this " thing " becomes at once an " apparition," and that too an intelligent spirit that is to be *spoken* to.

Tush, tush ! 'twill not appear.

Then the shivery feeling, at such a time, with two eye-witnesses, of sitting down to hear a story of a ghost, and this, too, a ghost that had appeared two nights before [at] about this very time. The effort of the narrator to master his own imaginative terrors ; the consequent elevation of the

[1] " *Port.* The dawn is over-cast, the morning lours,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day."

style, itself a continuation of this effort; the turning off to an *outward* object, "yon same star." O heaven! words are wasted to those that feel and to those who do not feel the exquisite judgement of Shakespeare.

Hume himself could not but have faith in *this* Ghost dramatically, let his anti-ghostism be as strong as Samson against ghosts less powerfully raised.

[I. i. 70-72.

Mar. Good now, sit down, and tell me, he that knows,
Why this same strict and most observant watch
So nightly toils the subject of the land.]

The exquisitely natural transit into the narration retrospective. [When the Ghost re-appears, note [a]] Horatio's increased courage from having translated the late individual spectre into thought and past experience, and Marcellus' and Bernardo's sympathy with it [Horatio's courage] in daring to strike, while yet the former feeling returns in

We do it wrong [being so majestical,
To offer it the show of violence.]

[I. i. 149-52.

I have heard,
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day.]

No Addison more careful to be poetical in diction than Shakespeare in providing the grounds and sources of its propriety. But *how* to elevate a thing almost mean by its familiarity, young poets may learn in the cock-crow.

[I. i. 169-71.

Let us impart what we have seen to-night
Unto young Hamlet; for, upon my life,
This spirit, dumb to us, will speak to him.]

The unobtrusive and yet fully adequate mode of introducing the main character, *young* Hamlet, upon whom

[a] *MS.* '1001*a*.'

transfers itself all the interest excited for the acts and concerns of the king, his father.

[I. ii.] Relief by change of scene to the royal court. This [relief is desirable] on any occasion ; but how judicious that Hamlet should not have to take up the leavings of exhaustion. The set, pedantically antithetic form of the king's speech—tho'[a] in the concerns that galled the heels of conscience, rhetorical below a king, yet in what follows, not without majesty. Was he not a royal brother ?

[I. ii. 42. The King's speech.

And now, Laertes, what's the news with you ?]

Shakespeare's art in introducing [b] a most important but still subordinate character first. Milton's Beelzebub.[1] So Laertes, who is yet thus graciously treated from the assistance given to the election of the king's brother instead of son by Polonius.

[I. ii. 65-67.

Ham. [Aside.] A little more than kin, and less than kind.
King. How is it that the clouds still hang on you ?
Ham. Not so, my lord ; I am too much i' the sun.]

Play on words either [due] to 1. exuberant activity of mind, as in Shakespeare's higher comedy ; [or] 2. imitation of it as a fashion, which has this to say for it—" Why is not this now better than groaning ? "[2]—or 3. contemptuous exultation in minds vulgarized and overset by their success, [like] Milton's Devils ;[3] or 4. as the language of resentment, in order to express contempt—most common among the lower orders, and [the] origin of nicknames ; or lastly, as the language of suppressed passion, especially of hardly smothered dislike. Three of these combine in the present

[a] *MS.* ' *yet tho*'.' [b] *MS.* ' *introduce*.'

[1] Coleridge's memory seems to have played him false on this point.

[2] " Why is not this better now than groaning for love." *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 85-86.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, vi. 609-27.

instance ; and doubtless Farmer is right in supposing the equivocation carried on into " too much in the *sun*."

[I. ii. 74.

Ham. Ay, madam, it is common.]

Suppression prepares for overflow.

[I. ii. 120.

Ham. I shall in all my best obey you, madam.]

Hamlet's silence to the long speech of the king, and general answer to his mother.

[I. ii. 129-59. Hamlet's first soliloquy.

O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew !]

See and transcribe from MSS* and in Mrs. Milne's volume.[1]

[I. iii.] This scene must be regarded as one of Shakespeare's lyric movements in the play, and the skill with which it is interwoven with the dramatic parts is peculiarly an excellence of our poet. You experience the sensation of a pause without the sense of a stop. You will observe in Ophelia's short and general answer to the long speech of Laertes the natural carelessness of innocence, which cannot think such a code of cautions and prudences necessary to its own preservation.

[I. iii. 107-09. Stockdale reading, following Pope.

Pol. . . . . Tender yourself more dearly ;
Or (not to crack the wind of the poor phrase)
Wronging [2] it thus, you'll tender me a fool.]

[1] If H.N.C. was acquainted with the meaning of these references, ' MS.* ' is the note-book from which the next fragment is taken ; for H.N.C. here inserted his revision of paragraphs 6 and 7 in that fragment. (Cf. i. 38-39.) The general comment on I. iii., which here follows, was evidently taken from ' Mrs. Milne's volume,' of which the present editor knows nothing. The paragraph ' This . . . preservation ' is reprinted from *L.R.* The reference is altered to conform to the usage of the present edition.

[2] *Wrong* Qq. *Roaming* Ff. *Wronging* Pope. *Wringing* Theobald (Warburton). *Running* Dyce (Collier), Camb. editors, etc. The parenthesis was first printed as Coleridge suggests by Theobald, following the second and third Quartos. The Folios have no parenthesis.

I suspect that " wronging " is here used much in the same sense as " wringing " or " wrenching " ; and that the parenthesis should be extended to " thus."

> Or (not to crack the wind of the poor phrase,
> Wringing it thus) you'll tender me a fool.

[I. iii. 115-17.

Pol. . . . . I do know,
When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul
Lends the tongue vows : these blazes, daughter, etc.]

A spondee has, I doubt not, dropt out of the text. After " vows " insert either " Go to " or " mark you ! " If the latter be preferred, it might end the line.

> " Lends the tongue vows. Go to ! these blazes, daughter,"

or

> " Lends the tongue vows. These blazes, daughter, mark you."

N.B. Shakespeare never introduces a catalectic line without intending an equivalent to the foot omitted, in the pauses, or the dwelling emphasis, or the diffused retardation. I do not, however, deny that a good actor might by employing the last mentioned, viz., the retardation or solemn knowing drawl, supply the missing spondee with good effect. But I do not believe that in this or the foregoing speeches Shakespeare meant to bring out the senility or weakness of Polonius's mind. In the great ever-recurring dangers and duties of life, where to distinguish the fit objects for the application of the maxims collected by the experience of a long life requires no fineness of tact, as in the admonitions to his son and daughter, Polonius is always made respectable. But if the actor were capable of catching these shades in the character, the pit and gallery would be malcontent.[1]

[1] Here H.N.C. adds the following sentence : " It is to Hamlet that Polonius is, and is meant to be, contemptible, because in inwardness and uncontrollable activity of movement, Hamlet's mind is the logical contrary to that of Polonius, and besides, as I have observed before, Hamlet dislikes the man as false to his true allegiance in the matter of the succession to the crown." This interpolation may be a revision of the similar passage in the first lecture of 1813 as reported by the Bristol and London newspapers. (Cf. ii. 253-54, 266-67.)

[I. iv.] In addition to the other excellencies of Hamlet's speech concerning the wassail music, so finely revealing the predominant idealism, the ratiocinative meditativeness of his character, it has the advantage of giving nature and probability to the impassioned continuity of the speech instantly directed to the Ghost. The momentum had been given to his mental activity, the full current of the thoughts and words had set in, and the very forgetfulness, in the fervor of his argumentation, of the purpose for which he was there, aided in preventing the appearance from benumbing the mind. Consequently, it acted as a new impulse, a sudden stroke which increased the velocity of the body already in motion, while it altered the direction. The co-presence of Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo is most judiciously contrived, for it renders the courage of Hamlet and his impetuous eloquence perfectly intelligible. The knowledge, the *unthought* of consciousness, the *sensation*, of human auditors, of flesh and blood sympathists, acts as a support, a stimulation *a tergo*, while the *front* of the mind, the whole consciousness of the speaker, is filled by the solemn apparition. Add, too, that the apparition itself has by its frequent previous appearances been brought nearer to a thing of this world. This accrescence of objectivity in a ghost that yet retains all its ghostly attributes and fearful subjectivity, is truly wonderful.

[I. v. 92-112. The speech of Hamlet as the Ghost vanishes.

> *Ham.* O all you host of heaven ! O earth ! what else ?
> And shall I couple hell ? O, fie ! Hold, hold, my heart ;
> etc.]

I remember nothing equal to this burst unless it be the first speech of Prometheus,[1] after the exit of Vulcan and the two Afrites, in Aeschylus. But Shakespeare alone could have produced the vow of Hamlet to make his memory a blank of all maxims and generalized truths that " observation

[1] *Prometheus Bound*, 88-127. The following reference to the ' two Afrites ' seems curious, for Afrites are evil demons of Mohammedan mythology ; but it is clear that Coleridge refers to the two attendants of Vulcan, Power and Force (βία and Κράτος).

had [a] copied there," followed by the immediate noting down the generalized fact,

That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain.

[II. i. Polonius and Reynaldo. Polonius and Ophelia.] In all things dependent on, or rather made up of, fine address, the *manner* is no more or otherwise rememberable than the light motions, steps, and gestures of youth and health. But this is almost everything ; no wonder, therefore, if that which can be *put down by rule* in the memory should appear mere poring, maudlin-eyed cunning, slyness blinking thro' the watery eye of superannuation. So in this admirable scene, Polonius, who is throughout the skeleton of his own former skill and statecraft, hunts the trail of policy at a dead scent, supplied by the weak fever-smell in his own nostrils.

[II. ii. 96. Warburton's note on the rhetoric of Polonius : . . . " Then as to the *jingles*, and *play* on words, let us but look into the sermons of Dr. *Donne* (the wittiest man of that age) and we shall find them full of this vein : "]

I* have (and that most carefully), read Dr. Donne's sermons, and find none of these jingles. The great art of an orator, to make whatever he talks of appear of importance, this indeed Donne has effected with consummate skill.

[II. ii. 172-73.

Pol. Do you know me, my lord ?
Ham. Excellent well ; you are a fishmonger.]

[" Fishmonger " ;] *i.e.* you are sent to *fish* out the secret. This is Hamlet's meaning. The purposely obscure lines—

For if the sun [breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god kissing carrion—Have you a daughter ?]

I rather think refer to some thought in Hamlet's mind contrasting the lovely daughter with such a tedious old fool, her father, as *he* represents Polonius to himself. " Why, fool as he is, he is some degrees in rank above a dead dog's carcase ; and if the sun, being a god that kisses carrion, can raise life

[a] *Omit* ' *had.*'

out of a dead dog, why may [not] good fortune, that favors fools, have raised a lovely girl out of this dead-alive old fool."

Warburton is often led astray in his interpretations by his attention to general positions without the due Shakespearian reference to what is probably passing in the mind of his speaker, characteristic and expository of his particular character and present mood. In confirmation of my preceding note, see

> O Jephthah, judge of Israel! what a treasure hadst thou, etc.
>
> [II. ii. 398-403.]

[II. ii. 212-16.

Pol. . . . . I will most humbly take my leave of you.

Ham. You cannot, sir, take from me any thing that I will more willingly part withal: except my life, except my life, except my life.]

The repetition of " except my life " is most admirable.

[II. ii. 262-64.

Ham. Then are our beggars bodies, and our monarchs and outstretched heroes the beggars' shadows. Shall we to the court? for, by my fay, I cannot reason.]

I do not understand this; and Shakespeare seems to have intended the meaning not to be more than snatched at: " By my fay! I cannot reason."

[II. ii. 446-512.

' The rugged Pyrrhus, he whose sable arms,' etc.]

This admirable substitution of the epic for the dramatic, giving such a *reality* to the impassioned dramatic diction of Shakespeare's own dialogue,[1] and authorized too by the

[1] For this fine observation Coleridge is indebted to Schlegel, though with alterations. Schlegel's excellent treatment of this problem is worth reading in its entirety, but space forbids quotation of more than two sentences which Coleridge used. " They [Shakespeare's commentators] have not considered that this speech must not be judged by itself but in the place where it stands. That which is meant to appear as dramatic invention in the play itself, must contrast with the play's dignified poetry in the same degree as theatrical elevation with simple nature." *Werke*, vi. 251.

actual style of the tragedies before Shakespeare (*Porrex and Ferrex*, *Titus Andronicus*, etc.) is worthy of notice. The fancy that a burlesque was intended, sinks below criticism. The lines, as *epic* narrative, are superb.

[II. ii. 496.

First Play. 'But who, O, who had seen the mobled queen—']

A mob-cap is still a word in common use for a morning cap which conceals the whole head of hair and passes under the chin. It is nearly the same as the night-cap; *i.e.* an imitation of it so as to answer the purpose ("I am not drest for company") and yet reconciling it with neatness and perfect purity. Query: etymologically connected with *Mop*?

[II. ii. 543-601. Hamlet's soliloquy:

O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!]

Here, after the recapitulation and character of Hamlet, recommence the particular criticism, as these lines contain Shakespeare's own attestation of the truth of the idea I have started.

Turn likewise to [act IV, scene iv, Hamlet's soliloquy,[a]

How all occasions do inform against me,]

as [evidence of] Hamlet's character self-attested.

[II. ii. 594-99.

Ham. . . . . The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil; and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
As he is very potent with such spirits,
Abuses me to damn me.]

[See] Sir Thomas Browne: "Those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering souls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villainy," etc., *Religio Medici*, [Part I,] sect. 37, *ad finem*.

[a] *MS.* '1028.'

[III. i. 48-49.

Pol. . . . . we do sugar o'er
The devil himself.
King. [*Aside.*] O, 'tis too true !]

The " O " here is to be so pronounced as to be equal in effect of sound to a spondee or at least a trochaic[a] dissyllable ; and the metre to be thus restored—

The devil himself. Oh ! it is too true
How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience.

[III. i. 56-88. Hamlet's soliloquy.

To be, or not to be : that is the question.]

Of such universal interest, and yet to which of all Shakespeare's characters could it have [been] *appropriately* given but to Hamlet ? For Jaques it would have been too deep ; for Iago, too habitual a communion with the *heart*, that belongs or ought to belong, to all mankind.

[III. i. 79-80.

The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns.

Theobald explains the supposed contradiction of this passage in the appearance of the Ghost by declaring that the Ghost came only from *Purgatory*.]

O* miserable defender ! If it be necessary to remove the apparent contradiction—if it be not rather a great beauty—surely it were easy to say that no traveller returns home, as to his home, or *abiding-place*.

[III. i. 103.

Ham. Ha, ha ! are you honest ?]

Here* it is evident that the penetrating Hamlet perceived, from the strange and forced manner of Ophelia, that the sweet girl was not acting a part of her own—in short, saw into the stratagem—and his after speeches are not directed to[b] Ophelia, but to the listeners and spies. [Theobald edition.]

[a] *MS.* ' *an iambic.*' [b] *MS.* ' *for.*'

Hamlet here discovers that he is watched, and Ophelia a decoy. Even this in a mood so anxious and irritable accounts for a certain harshness in him ; and yet a wild upworking of love, sporting with opposites with a wilful self-tormenting irony, is perceptible throughout : *ex. gr.* " I did love you " [1] and [his reference to] the faults of the sex from which Ophelia is so characteristically free that the freedom therefrom constitutes her character. Here again Shakespeare's charm of constituting female character by absence of characters, [of] outjuttings.[2] [Stockdale edition.]

[III. i. 146-49. Hamlet to Ophelia.

. . . . I say, we will have no more marriages : those that are married already, all but one, shall live ; the rest shall keep as they are.]

The dallying with the inward purpose that of one who had not brought his mind to the steady acting point, would fain *sting* the uncle's mind,—but to stab the body !

The soliloquy of Ophelia is the perfection of love—so exquisitely unselfish !

[III. ii. The dialogue of Hamlet with the players.]

One and among the happiest [instances] of Shakespeare's power of diversifying the scene while he is carrying on the plot.

[III. ii. 100-103.

Pol. I did enact Julius Caesar : I was killed i' the Capitol ; Brutus killed me.

Ham. It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there.]

In any direct form to have kept Hamlet's love for Ophelia before the audience, would have made a breach in the unity of the interest ; but yet to the thoughtful reader it is suggested by his spite to poor Polonius, whom he cannot let rest.

[1] " I did love you once." [2] Cf. i. 133, 233 ; ii. 353-54.

[III. ii. The play.]

As in the first interview with the players by *epic* verse, so here [the style of the play performed before the court is distinguished] by rhyme.

[III. ii. 326-27.

Ros. My lord, you once did love me.
Ham. So I do still, by these pickers and stealers.]

I* never heard an actor give this word its proper emphasis —Shakespeare's meaning is—" Lov'd *you* ? Hum ? *So* I do still," etc. There has been no *change* in my opinion.[1] Else Hamlet tells an ignoble falsehood, and a useless one, as the last speech to Guildenstern,[a] " Why, look you now," proves.

[III. ii. 380-82. Hamlet's soliloquy.

. . . . now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on.]

The utmost Hamlet arrives to is a disposition, a mood, to do *something*. *What* is still left undecided, while every word he utters tends to betray his disguise.

The perfect equal to any call of the moment is Hamlet, let it only not be for a future.

[III. iii. 11-15.

Ros. The single and peculiar life is bound
With all the strength and armour of the mind
To keep itself from noyance ; but much more
That spirit upon whose weal depends and rests
The lives of many.]

To bring all possible good out of evil, yet [also] how characteristically is this just sentiment placed in the mouth of Rosencrantz.

[a] *MS.* ' *him.*'

[1] " I believe it should be : ' And do *so* still ; *i.e.* as well as I ever did.' " Coleridge in Stockdale edition.

[III. iii. 27-29.

Pol. My lord, he's going to his mother's closet :
Behind the arras I'll convey myself,
To hear the process.]

Polonius's volunteer obtrusion of himself into this business, while it is appropriate to his character, still letching after former importance, removes all likelihood that Hamlet should suspect his presence, and prevents us from making his death injure Hamlet in our opinion.

[III. iii. 36-72. The king's remorse.

O, my offence is rank, it smells to heaven.]

The king's speech well marks the difference between crime and guilt of habit. The conscience is still admitted to audience. Nay, even as an audible soliloquy, it is far less improbable than is supposed by such as have watched men only in the beaten road of their feelings. But it deserves to be dwelt on, that final "All may be well"; a degree of merit [is] attributed by the self-flattering soul to its own struggle, tho' baffled, and to the indefinite half-promise, half-command, to persevere in religious duties. The divine medium of the Christian doctrine of expiation [is] in this : not what you have done, but what you *are*, must determine. Metanoia.[1]

[III. iii. 73-96. Hamlet spares the king because he finds him at prayer, and, therefore, safe from damnation.

Ham. Now might I do it pat, now he is praying ;
. . . . . .
. . . . and am I then revenged,
To take him in the purging of his soul,
When he is fit and season'd for his passage ?
No.]

Dr. Johnson's mistaking of the marks of reluctance and procrastination for impetuous, horror-striking fiendishness ![2]

[1] Μετάνοια, repentance.

[2] Not merely in Dr. Johnson did eighteenth-century humanitarianism so express itself. Cf. [Hanmer ?], *Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet* (1736), p. 41 · a "Well-wisher and Admirer" of Garrick's in

Of such importance is it to understand the *germ* of a character. But the interval taken up by Hamlet's speech is truly awful! and then—

My words fly up, [my thoughts remain below.]

O what a lesson concerning the essential difference between wishing and willing, and the folly of all motive-mongering, while the individual self remains.

[III. iv. 28-30.

Ham. A bloody deed! almost as bad, good mother,
As kill a king, and marry with his brother.
Queen. As kill a king!]

I confess that Shakespeare has left the character of the queen in an unpleasant perplexity. Was she or was she not conscious of the fratricide?

[IV. ii. 14-16.

Ros. Take you me for a sponge, my lord?
Ham. Ay, sir; that soaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities.]

Hamlet's madness is made to consist in the full utterance of all the thoughts that had past thro' his mind before—in telling home truths.

[IV. v. Ophelia's singing.] The conjunction here of these two thoughts that had never subsisted in disjunction, the love for Hamlet and her filial love, and the guileless floating on the surface of her pure imagination of the cautions so lately expressed and the fears not too delicately avowed

1742, *Private Correspondence of David Garrick* (1831), i. 14; Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor* (1770), i. 46; Tom Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (1785), iii. 104. Dr. Johnson is nearer to the Elizabethans on this point than Coleridge, who did not have the general knowledge of Elizabethan literature which was necessary to support historical criticism, though he preached the historical point of view. Analogies in Elizabethan literature show that contemporaries of Shakespeare would not be horrified at such a motive in a revenge play, but also that they would take it seriously, as Johnson did. See ch. iv., *Hamlet: an Historical and Comparative Study*, by E. E. Stoll. (University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature, Number 7.)

by her father and brother concerning the danger to which her honor lay exposed.

> Thought and affliction, passion, murder [a] itself,
> She turns to favor and to prettiness.
> [IV. v. 184-85.]

This play of association is sweetly instanced in the close—

> . . . . My brother shall know of it : and [so] I thank you for your good *counsel.* [IV. v. 68-69.]

[IV. v. 100-103. The revolt of Laertes is announced to the king :

> And, as the world were now but to begin,
> Antiquity forgot, custom not known,
> The ratifiers and props of every word,
> They cry ' Choose we ; Laertes shall be king ! ']

Fearful* and self-suspicious as I always feel when I seem to see an error of judgement in Shakespeare, yet I cannot reconcile the cool, [and, as Warburton calls it,] " rational and consequential " reflection in these three lines with the anonymousness or the alarm of the messenger.

[IV. v. 120-21. The king faces Laertes :

> There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
> That treason can but peep to what it would.]

Proof, as indeed all else is, that Shakespeare never intended us to see the king with Hamlet's eyes, tho', I suspect, the managers have long done so.

[IV. v. 128. Laertes to the king :

> To hell, allegiance ! vows, to the blackest devil !

Warburton's note : " *Laertes* is a good character ; but he is here in actual rebellion," etc.]

Mercy* on Warburton's notions of goodness ! See [the seventh scene[b]

> *Laer.* . . . . I will do't
> And for that purpose I'll anoint my sword.]

[a] *Read* ' *hell.*' [b] *MS.* ' *p.* 219.'

especially [treacherous ?] after the king's description of Hamlet—

. . . . he, being remiss,
Most generous and free from all contriving,
[Will not peruse the foils. Theobald edition.]

Shakespeare evidently wishes as much as possible to spare the character of Laertes, to break the extreme turpitude of his consent to become an agent and accomplice of the king's treacheries—and to this end works the re-introduction of Ophelia [at the end of this scene. Stockdale edition.].

[IV. vi. Hamlet's capture by the pirates, as explained in his letter.]

Almost the only play of Shakespeare, in which mere accidents, independent of all will, form an essential part of the plot; but here how judiciously in keeping with the character of the over-meditative Hamlet, ever at last determined by accident or by a fit of passion.

[IV. vii. 81-106. The king] first awakens Laertes' vanity by the praises of the report[er], then gratifies it by the report itself, and then [comes to the point—

. . . . Sir, this report of his]
Did Hamlet so envenom with his envy
[That he could nothing do but wish and beg
Your sudden coming o'er, to play with him.]

And that Laertes might be excused in some degree for not cooling, the act concludes [a] with the affecting death of Ophelia. Who does not see [her], like a little projection of land into a lake or stream, covered with spring-flowers, lying [b] quietly reflected in the great waters, but at length [being] undermined and loosened, becomes a floating faery isle, and after a brief vagrancy sinks almost without an eddy!

[IV. vii. 117-18.

For goodness, growing to a plurisy,
Dies in his own too much.

Warburton conjectures 'plethory' for 'plurisy.']

[a] *MS.* '*concluding.*' [b] *MS.* '*lay.*'

I* rather think that Shakespeare meant " pleurisy," but involving in it the thought of plethora, as supposing pleurisy to arise from too much blood : else I cannot explain the fifth line after—

> And then this ' should ' [is like a spendthrift sigh,
> That hurts by easing.]

In a stitch in the side every one must have heaved a sigh that hurt by easing. S. T. C.

I* was right ; in the old medical dictionaries pleurisy is often called a plethory.

[V. i.] The contrast between the clowns and Hamlet as two extremes—the [clowns'] mockery of logic, the traditional wit valued like truth for its antiquity, and treasured up, like a tune, for use.

[V. i. 270. Hamlet to Laertes.

> Woo't drink up eisel ?

' Eisel ' is Theobald's emendation for ' Esill ' or ' Esile ']

" Eisil*," I suppose, is the word ; but I suspect that Hamlet alluded to the cup of anguish at the Cross, and that it should be " the Eisel " ; *i.e.* would'st drink it *up* ? Christ simply tasted it. Theobald does not explain the " drink *up* ! " We do not say drink up vinegar, but drink vinegar.

[V. ii. 366. Horatio to the English Ambassadors :

> He never gave commandment for their death.

Theobald thinks that ' he ' refers to Hamlet.]

Why* surely " he " means the king, and not Hamlet. The king's, not Hamlet's, signature was forged by Hamlet.

[V. i-ii.] Shakespeare seems to mean *all* Hamlet's character, to be brought together before his final disappearance from the scene—his meditative excess in the grave-digging [scene], his yielding to passion, his love for Ophelia blazing out, his tendency to generalize on all occasions in the dialogue with Horatio, his fine gentlemanly manners with Osrick, and his and Shakespeare's fondness for

presentiment [1]—" O my prophetic soul " [I. v. 40], and his " Most generous and free from all contriving " in his fencing-duel [2]—and all at last done by . . . [?] and accident at the conclusion.

The Character of Hamlet.[3]

1. Shakespeare's mode of conceiving characters out of his own intellectual and moral faculties, by conceiving any one intellectual or moral faculty in morbid excess and then placing himself, thus mutilated and diseased, under given circumstances. This [a] we shall have repeated occasion to re-state and enforce. In Hamlet I conceive him to have wished to exemplify the moral necessity of a due balance between our attention to outward objects [b] and our meditation on inward thoughts—a due balance between the real and the imaginary world. In Hamlet this balance does not exist—his thoughts, images, and fancy [being] far more vivid than his perceptions, and his very perceptions instantly passing thro' the medium of his contemplations, and acquiring as they pass a form and color not naturally their own. Hence great, enormous, intellectual activity, and a consequent proportionate aversion to real action, with all its symptoms and accompanying qualities.

Action is transitory, a step, a blow,[4] etc.

[a] *MS.* ' *Of this.*' [b] *MS.* ' *objections.*'

[1] V. ii. 204-16.

[2] The omissions of H.N.C. are often easily explained, as in this case. The king's description of Hamlet, " most generous and free from all contriving," is preparation for the duel, but not presentiment.

[3] This manuscript is from a transcript by E. H. Coleridge of one of Coleridge's note-books. The original note-book has escaped the editor's search for it. The transcript indicates that this is a lecture prepared for the Bristol series of 1813. It may be compared with the third lecture as reported in the *Bristol Gazette* (cf. ii. 272-75). The resemblance is incomplete, but sufficient for the necessary date, even if no external evidence were available. The title of the lecture is Coleridge's and is, therefore, printed without brackets. (Cf. i. 77-81, 121-25, 152-56, 230-35 for other notes from the same note-book.)

[4] " Action is transitory—a step, a blow,

. . . . . .

Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
And shares the nature of infinity."

Wordsworth, *The Borderers*, III. v.

Then as in the first instance proceed with a cursory survey thro' the play, with comments, etc.

(1) The easy language of ordinary life, contrasted with the direful music and wild rhythm of the opening of *Macbeth*. Yet the armour, the cold, the dead silence, all placing the mind in the state congruous with tragedy.

(2) The admirable judgement and yet confidence in his own marvellous powers in introducing the ghost twice, each rising in solemnity and awfulness before its third appearance to Hamlet himself.

(3) Shakespeare's tenderness with regard to all innocent superstition: no Tom Paine declarations and pompous philosophy.

(4) The first words that Hamlet speaks [a]—

A little more than kin, and less than kind.

He begins with that play of words, the complete absence of which characterizes *Macbeth* [1] . . . [?]. No one can have heard quarrels among the vulgar but must have noticed the close connection of punning with angry contempt. Add too what is highly characteristic of superfluous activity of mind, a sort of playing with a thread or watch chain or snuff box.

(5) And [note] how the character develops itself in the next speech—the aversion to externals, the betrayed habit of brooding over the world within him, and the prodigality of beautiful words, which are, as it were, the half embodyings of thoughts, that make them more than thoughts, give them an outness, a reality *sui generis*, and yet retain their correspondence and shadowy approach to the images and movements within.

(6) The first soliloquy [I. ii.

O, that this too too solid flesh would melt.[b]]

[The] reasons why *taedium vitae* oppresses minds like Hamlet's: the exhaustion of bodily feeling from perpetual

[a] *MS.* '259.' *Page-reference to Joseph Rann's ed. of Shakespeare* (1786), *vol. vi.*

[b] *MS.* ' 260-5.' *Page-reference, as above.*

[1] The first word, ' This,' of the omitted phrase is all that is legible. For this remark, cf. i. 78, 80, and notes.

exertion of mind ; that all mental form being indefinite and ideal, realities must needs become cold, and hence it is the indefinite that combines with passion.

(7) And in this mood the relation is made [by Horatio, who tells Hamlet of his father's ghost], of which no more than [that] it is a perfect model of dramatic narration and dramatic style, the purest poetry and yet the most natural language, equally distant from the inkhorn and the provincial plough.

(8) Hamlet's running into long reasonings [while waiting for the ghost], carrying off the impatience and uneasy feelings of expectation by running away from the *particular* in[to] the *general.* This aversion to personal, individual concerns, and escape to generalizations and general reasonings a most important characteristic.

Besides that, it does away with surprizing [1] all the ill effects that the two former appearances of the ghost would have produced by rendering the ghost an expected phenomenon, and restores to it all the suddenness essential to the effect.

(9) The ghost [is] a superstition connected with the most [sacred ?] truths of revealed religion and, therefore, O how contrasted from the withering and wild language of the [witches in] *Macbeth.*

(10) The instant and over violent resolve of Hamlet—how he wastes in the efforts of resolving the energies of action. Compare this with the . . . [?] of Medea ; and [note] his quick relapse into the satirical and ironical vein [after the ghost disappears].

(11) Now comes the difficult task, [interpreting the jests of Hamlet when his companions overtake him [a]].

The familiarity, comparative at least, of a brooding mind with shadows is something. Still more the necessary alternation when one muscle long strained is relaxed ; the antagonist comes into action of itself. Terror [is] closely connected with the ludicrous ; the latter [is] the common

[a] *MS.* ' 280-283,' *as above. See* ' *Hamlet,' I. v.* 112-191.

[1] That is, by means of the consequent surprise when the ghost appears.

mode by which the mind tries to emancipate itself from terror. The laugh is rendered by nature itself the language of extremes, even as tears are. Add too, Hamlet's wildness is but *half-false*. O that subtle trick to pretend the *acting* only when we are very near *being* what we act. And this explanation of the same with Ophelia's vivid images [describing Hamlet's desperation when he visits her] ; nigh akin to, and productive of, temporary mania. [See II. i. 75-100, the speeches of [a]] Ophelia, [which were just mentioned,] proved by [Hamlet's wildness at Ophelia's grave,[b] V. i. 248-78].

(12) Hamlet's character, as I have conceived [it, is] described by himself [in the soliloquy after the players leave him [c]—

O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I, etc.]

But previous to this, speak of the exquisite judgement in the diction of the introduced play. Absurd to suppose it extracted in order to be ridiculed from [an] old play. It is in thought and even in the separate parts of the diction highly poetical, so that this is its fault, that it is too poetical, the language of lyric vehemence and epic pomp, not of the drama. But what if Shakespeare had made the language truly dramatic ? Where would have been the contrast between *Hamlet* and the play of *Hamlet* ? [1]

(13) And then conclude with the objections ; see the cover and first page of this book.[2] Schlegel,[3] III, 67, 69.

(14) After this whether it will not do to speak of the honest pride of our Englishmen—Milton, Shakespeare, Bacon, Newton, and now Wellington—and how the glorious events of the day [4] all are [d] [?] deducible from the attack on England.

[a] *MS.* ' 287.' [b] *MS.* ' 390-391.'
[c] *MS.* ' 311.' [d] *Or* ' *as*.'

[1] Cf. i. 27-28.

[2] A reference to the fragment on *Macbeth* in the same note-book. (Cf. i. 77-79.)

[3] Cf. i. 78 and note 3.

[4] Wellington was just beginning his invasion of southern France, after driving Soult out of Spain.

Lecture VI.[1]

1. The significancy of the names of Shakespeare's plays, the " Twelfth Night," " Midsummer Night's Dream," " As You Like It," " Winter's Tale," when the total effect is produced by a co-ordination of the characters, by a wreath of flowers : [2] but " Coriolanus," " Lear," " Romeo and Juliet," " Hamlet," " Othello, Moor of Venice," when the effect arises from the subordination of all to one, either as the prominent person or the principal object. " Cymbeline " is the only exception and even that has its advantages and prepares the audience for the chaos of time, place, and costume by throwing the date back into a [legendary] king's . . . [?] reign.

2. But as of more importance, so more striking is the judgement displayed by our truly *dramatic* poet as well as *poet* of the drama in the management of his first scenes. With the single exception of *Cymbeline* they either place before us in one glance both the past and the future in some effect which implies the continuance and full agency of its cause, as in the feuds and party spirit of the servants of the two houses in the first scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, or in the degrading passion for shews and public spectacles, and the overwhelming attachment for the newest successful war-chief in the Roman people, already become a populace, contrasted with the jealousy of the nobles, in *Julius Caesar* ; or they at once commence the action so as to excite a curiosity for the explanation in the following [scenes], as in the storm of the wind, the waves, and the boatswain in the *Tempest*, instead of anticipating our curiosity, as in most other first scenes and in too many other first *acts* ; or they act, by contrast of diction suited to the characters, at once to heighten the effect and yet to give a naturalness to the language and rhythm of the principal characters, either as that of Prospero

[1] This MS. is not from the marginalia, but from Egerton MS. 2800, ff. 28-36. It is dated February 13, 1818, the day when it was used. The title, ' Lecture VI,' is Coleridge's.

[2] Cf. i. 119, 121, 233 ; ii. 276.

and Miranda, in the last instance, by the appropriate lowness of the style, or as in *King John* by the equally appropriate stateliness of state harangue or official narration, so that the after blank verse seems to belong to the rank and quality of the speakers and not to the poet ; or they strike at once the key-note, give the predominant spirit of the play, as in the *Twelfth Night* and in *Macbeth* ; or the first scene comprizes all these advantages at once, as in *Hamlet*.

In all the best attested stories of ghosts and visions, as in that of Brutus,[1] of Archbishop Cranmer,[2] that of Benvenuto Cellini recorded by himself,[3] and the vision of Galileo communicated by him to his favorite pupil Torricelli,[4] the ghost-seers were in a state of cold or chilling damp from without, and of anxiety inwardly. It has been with all of them as with Francisco on his guard—alone, in the depth and silence of the night—" 'twas bitter cold and they were sick at heart "—and " not a mouse stirring." [a] The attention to minute sounds,—naturally associated with the recollection of minute objects, and the more familiar and trifling, the more [b] impressive from the unusualness of their producing any impression at all—gives a philosophic pertinency to this last image, but it has likewise its dramatic use and purpose, for its commonness in ordinary conversation tends to produce the sense of *reality*, and at once hides the poet and yet approximates the reader or spectator to that state in which the highest poetry will appear, and in its component parts, tho' not in whole composition, really is

[a] " *Fran. For this relief much thanks : 'tis bitter cold,*
And I am sick at heart.
Ber. Have you had quiet guard?
Fran. *Not a mouse stirring.*" [*I. i.* 8-10.]

[b] *MS.* ' *trifling they* ~~*become*~~ [*sic*] *the more.*' *With* ' *become,*' ' *they* ' *should be struck out.*

[1] Plutarch's life of Brutus.

[2] The editor's search for this reference has inclined him to doubt the accuracy of Coleridge's recollection.

[3] *Life of Benvenuto Cellini* (tr. by J. A. Symonds, 3rd ed., London, 1889), pp. 262, 268-70.

[4] Cf. n. 2 above.

the language of nature. If I should not speak it, I feel that I should be thinking it ; the voice only is the poet's, the words are my own. That Shakespeare meant to put an *effect* in the actor's power in the very first words, " *Who's there ?* " is evident from the impatience expressed in the words that follow. " Nay, answer me : stand and unfold yourself." A brave man is never so peremptory, as when he fears that he is afraid.

The gradual transition from the silence and the recent habit of listening in Francisco's " I think I hear them," and the more cheerful call out, which a good actor would observe, in the " Stand ho ! Who is there ? " Bernardo's enquiry after Horatio, and the repetition of his name, and in his own presence, [indicate] *respect* or eagerness . . . [?] that implies him as one of the persons who are to appear in the foreground ; and the scepticism attributed to him—

> Horatio says, 'tis but our phantasy ;
> And will not let belief take hold of him—

preparing us for Hamlet's after eulogy on him as one whose blood and judgement were happily commingled. The indefiniteness of the first opening out of the occasion of this anxiety : " Welcome, Horatio ! " (gladness) ; " welcome, good Marcellus " (courtesy).

> *M.* What has *this thing* [appear'd again to-night ?]

rising with the next speech into

> Touching this dreaded sight twice seen of us.

Horatio's confirmation of his disbelief—

> [Tush, tush, 'twill not appear]—

and the silence with which the scene opened again restored by the narration. The solemnity of it and the exquisite proof of the narrator's deep feeling of what he is himself about to relate, [shown] by his turning off from it, as from a something that is forcing him too deep into himself, to

the outward objects, the realities of nature that had accompanied it—

> [*Ber.*] Last night of all,
> [When yond same star that's westward from the pole
> Had made his course to illume that part of heaven
> Where now it burns, Marcellus and myself,
> The bell then beating one,—]

seem [1] to contradict the critical law that what is told makes a faint impression compared with what is beheld, and do [a] indeed convey to the mind more than the eye can see ; and [note] the interruption of the narration at the very moment when we are most intensely listening for the sequel, and have our thoughts diverted from the dreaded sight in expectation of the desired, yet almost dreaded, tale, thus giving all the suddenness and surprize of the original appearance—

> Peace, break thee off ! look where it comes again !

The judgement in having two of the persons present as having seen it twice before, hence naturally confirming their former opinions, while the sceptic is silent, and after [he has] twice been addressed by his friends, answers with two hasty syllables, " Most like," and confession of horror—

> [it harrows me with fear and wonder.]

[*Othello.*[2]]

[I. i.] The admirable preparation, so characteristic of Shakespeare, in the introduction of Roderigo as the dupe on whom Iago first exercises his art, and in so doing displays his own character. Roderigo [is] already fitted and predisposed [to be a dupe] by his own passions—without any fixed principle or strength of character (the want of character and

[a] *MS.* ' *does.*'

[1] The subjects of ' seem ' are ' solemnity ' and ' proof.'

[2] For further MS. notes on *Othello*, see the comparison with *Winter's Tale*, i. 121-25. Cf. also the newspaper report of the same lecture, ii. 275-77. H.N.C. used the MS. lecture comparing *Othello* and the *Winter's Tale* chiefly for the latter play, but he used one note for the conclusion of *Othello*. (Cf. i. 125, note 2.)

the power of the passions,—like the wind loudest in empty houses, form his character)—but yet not without the moral notions and sympathies with honor which his rank, connections had hung upon him. The very three first lines happily state the nature and foundation of the friendship—the purse—as well [as] the contrast of Roderigo's intemperance of mind with Iago's coolness, the coolness of a preconceiving *experimenter*. The mere language of protestation in

> If ever [I did dream of such a matter,]
> Abhor me—

which, fixing the associative link that determines Roderigo's continuation of complaint—

> [Thou told'st me thou didst hold him] in thy hate—

elicits a true feeling of Iago's—the dread of contempt habit[ual] to those who encourage in themselves and have their keenest pleasure in the feeling and expression of contempt for [a] others. His high self-opinion—and how a wicked man employs his real feelings as well as assumes those most alien from his own, as instruments of his purpose.

[I. i. 8-10.

> *Iago.* . . . . Three great ones of the city,
> In personal suit to make me his lieutenant,
> Off-capp'd to him.]

More* probably, and more in Shakespeare's style, " off'd cap [1] to him " (the imitative action expected from the player being the comment and preventing any possible equivoque).

[I. i. 20-21.

> One Michael Cassio, a Florentine,
> A fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife ;

Theobald reads

> (" the Florentine's
> A fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife.")

The speech is Othello's and refers to Iago, Theobald thinks ; Iago quotes it ironically.]

[a] *MS.* ' *in others.*'

[1] *Qq. oft capt.*

Absurd* ingenuity! Who says that Cassio was not a Florentine? But that being so, [that] Iago should use it to Roderigo, a " young Venetian," to excite the contempt that follows national rivalry, is quite exquisite and Shakespearian. The following line has been since corrected beyond all doubt, but " wife " is a misprint for " life," alluding to the text, " shamed [?] are you when all men speak well of you " [1] —likewise an allusion quite, and as the Prints [?] say, too much in Shakespeare's manner. S. T. C.

The necessity of Tyrwhitt's alteration of " wife " into " life "—as [representing Iago's] contempt for whatever did not display power, and that intellectual. [In] what follows, let the reader feel how by and thro' the glass of two passions, disappointed passion and envy, the very vices he is complaining of are made to act upon him as so many excellences, and the more appropriately, because cunning is always admired and wished for by minds conscious of inward weakness. And yet it is but *half*—it acts like music on an inattentive auditor, *swelling* the thoughts which prevent him from listening to it. Roderigo turns off to Othello; and here comes the one if not the only justification of the blackamoor Othello, namely as a negro, who is not a *Moor* at all.

> [What a full fortune does the thick-lips owe,
> If he can carry't thus!]

Even if we supposed this an uninterrupted tradition of the theatre, and that Shakespeare himself, from want of scenes and the experience that nothing could be made too *marked* for the nerves of his audience, [sanctioned it,] would this prove aught concerning his own intentions as a poet for all ages? Can we suppose him so utterly ignorant as to make a barbarous *negro* plead royal birth? Were negroes then known but as slaves; on the contrary were not the Moors the warriors, etc.?

Iago's speech to Brabantio implies merely that he was a *Moor*, *i.e.* black. Tho' I think the rivalry of Roderigo sufficient to account for his wilful confusion of Moor and negro

[1] " Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you." *Luke* vi. 26.

—yet tho' compelled to give this up, I should yet think it only adapted for the then *acting*, and should complain of an enormity built only on one single word—in direct contradiction to Iago's " *Barbary* horse." If we can in good earnest believe Shakespeare ignorant of the distinction, still why take one [chance] against ten—as Othello cannot be *both* ?

It is a common error to mistake the epithets applied by the *dramatis personae* to each other, as truly descriptive of what the audience ought to see or know. No doubt Desdemona saw Othello's visage in his mind ; yet, as we are constituted, and most surely as an English audience was disposed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, it would be something monstrous to conceive this beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a veritable negro. It would argue a disproportionateness, a want of balance, in Desdemona, which Shakespeare does not appear to have in the least contemplated.[1]

[I. i. 143.]
This accident is not unlike my dream.

The old *careful* senator, who caught careless, transfers his caution to his *dreaming* power at least.

The forced praise of Othello followed by the bitter hatred—

Iago. . . . . [Another of his fathom they have none
To lead their business]—

and Brabantio's recurrence to philtres, so prepared [for] by the dream ; and both so prepared for the carrying on of the plot by the arraignment of Othello on *this ground.*

[I. ii. 4-6.
Iago. . . . . nine or ten times
I had thought to have yerk'd him here under the ribs.
Oth. 'Tis better as it is.]

[1] This paragraph is interpolated from *L.R.* The authenticity of this passage may be suspected, certainly in part and perhaps even as a whole. The style seems to me to be unlike Coleridge's ; the subject-matter is primarily a development of what goes before, like other cases in which H. N. Coleridge seeks to make his uncle's meaning clear ; the reference to ' the seventeenth century ' betrays a more definite knowledge of the order of Shakespeare's plays than Coleridge ever attained.

" It is better as it is " ; [compare the] " not easily wrought " [of Othello's death speech : he is] above all low passions.

[I. ii. 22-24.
Oth. . . . . my demerits
May speak unbonneted to as proud a fortune
As this that I have reach'd.]

" Unbonneted "—without the symbol of a petitioning inferior.

[Citing *Lear* III. i. 14, ' unbonneted he runs,' Theobald proposes to read ' and bonnetted.']

The* argument here proceeds on the assumption that Shakespeare could not use the same word differently in different places, whereas I should conclude that as in the quotation from *Lear* the word is employed in its direct meaning, so here it is used metaphorically ; and this is confirmed by what has escaped the editors, that it is not " I " but " my demerits " that may speak unbonneted—*i.e.* without the aid of the cap. There is a passage in *Coriolanus* [1] [II. ii. 25] which gives additional probability to this as well as to Pope's " unbonneting," but the " ing " would better suit " I," the " ed," " my demerits."

The danger of introducing into a situation of great interest one for whom you had no previous interest.[a] . . .

[This seems by its position to refer to Brabantio, who is roused by Iago and Roderigo.]

" By Janus " [I. ii. 33] in Iago's mouth, [an appropriate oath].

[I. iii. 292-94.
Bra. Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see :
She has deceived her father, and may thee.
Oth. My life upon her faith !]

[a] *Here follows a phrase in Greek letters which seems to be in cipher :* ' φρσφρρ Ιωαν.'

[1] . . . ' his ascent is not by such easy degrees as those who, having been supple and courteous to the people, bonneted, without any further deed. . . . '

In real life how do we look back to little speeches, either as presentimental [of], or most contrasted with, an affecting event. Shakespeare, as secure of being read over and over, of becoming a family friend, how he provides this for *his readers*, and leaves it to them.

[I. iii. 319-20.
Iago. Virtue ! a fig ! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus.]

Iago's passionless character, all *will* in intellect ; therefore a bold partisan here of a truth, but yet of a truth converted into falsehood by absence of all the modifications by the frail nature of man. And the *last sentiment*—

[. . . our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts ; whereof I take this, that you call love, to be a sect or scion]—

There lies the Iagoism of how many ! And the repetition, " Go make money ! "—a pride in it, of an anticipated dupe, stronger than the love of lucre.

[I. iii. 377-78. First Quarto and Stockdale text :
Iago. Go to, farewell, put money enough in your purse :
Thus do I ever make my fool my purse.]

The triumph ! Again, " put money," after the effect has been fully produced. The last speech, [Iago's soliloquy,] the motive-hunting of motiveless malignity—how awful ! In itself fiendish ; while yet he was allowed to bear the divine image, too fiendish for his own steady view. A being next to devil, only *not* quite devil—and this Shakespeare has attempted—executed—without disgust, without scandal !

[II. i.] Dr. Johnson has remarked that little or nothing is wanting to render the *Othello* a regular tragedy but to have opened the play with the arrival of Othello in Cyprus, and to have thrown the preceding act into the form of narration. Here then is the place to determine whether such a change would or would not be an improvement, nay (to throw down the glove with a full challenge), whether or no the tragedy would by such an arrangement become *more regular* ; *i.e.*, more consonant with the rules dictated by

universal reason or the true common sense of mankind in its application to the particular case. For surely we may safely leave it to common sense whether to reply to or laugh at such a remark as, for instance—suppose a man had described a rhomboid or parallelogram and a critic were with great gravity to observe, " If the lines had only been in true right angles, or if the horizontal parallels had been but of the same length as the two perpendicular parallels that form the sides, the diagram would have been according to the strictest rules of geometry." [1] For in all acts of judgement it [can] never be too often recollected and scarcely too often repeated, that rules are means to ends,—consequently, that the end must be determined and understood before it can be known what the rules are or ought to be. Now from a certain species of drama, proposing to itself the accomplishment of certain ends, these partly arising from the idea of the species itself, but in part, likewise, forced upon the dramatist by accidental circumstances beyond his power to remove or control, three rules have been abstracted ; in other words, the means most conducive to the attainment of the proposed ends have been generalized and prescribed under the names of the three unities, the unity of time, the unity of place, and the unity of action, which last would perhaps have been [more] appropriately, as well as more intelligibly, entitled the unity of interest.[2] With this the present question has no immediate concern. In fact, its conjunction with the two former is a mere delusion of *words*. It is not properly a *rule*, but in itself the great end, not only of the drama but of the epic, lyric, even to the candle-flame cone of an epigram—not only of poetry, but of poesy in general, as the proper generic term inclusive of all the fine arts, as its species. But of the unities of time and place, which alone are entitled to the name of rules, the history of their origin will be their best criterion. Chorus—you may take people to a place, but only by a palpable equivoque can

[1] " N.B. Very awkwardly expressed." Coleridge's note, referring to the whole sentence, which he has marked.

[2] Cf. i. 4, and note.

you bring Birnam Wood to Macbeth at Dunsinane. The same, in a less degree, as to the unity of time—the positive fact, not for a moment removed from the senses, the presence, I mean, of the very same persons, is a continued measure of time ; and tho' the imagination may supersede perception, yet it must be granted an imperfection (tho' even here how easily do we not tolerate it ?) to place the two in broad contradiction to each other. Yet [consider the stage conventions of] dark scenes, *asides*, etc. But, in truth, it is a mere accident of terms in the first place (the trilogy corresponds to acts) ; and notwithstanding this, [consider] the strange contrivances as to place, as in the *Frogs* ; and there is no lack of instances in the Greek tragedies. The allowance extorted of twenty-four hours, as if perception once violated, it was more difficult to imagine three hours three years, or [1] a whole day and night. Fine instance in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.[2]

[Later.] Confirmation of my reason [for defending a first act at Venice] : in how many ways is not Othello made, first, our acquaintance—then friend—then object of anxiety —before the deep interest is to be approached. So the storm, etc.

[II. i. 60-65.

Mon. But, good lieutenant, is your general wived ?
Cas. Most fortunately : he hath achieved a maid
That paragons description and wild fame ;
One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,
And in the essential vesture of creation
Does tire the ingener.]

Cassio's warm-hearted, yet perfectly disengaged, praise of Desdemona, and sympathy with the " most fortunately " wived Othello ; and yet an enthusiastic admirer, almost worshipper, of Desdemona. Again I must touch the detestable code that excellence can not be loved in *any* form but

[1] Read ' than ' [?].

[2] Coleridge refers to the violation of the unity of time involved in the voyage of Agamemnon from Troy to Argos, which is supposed to have taken place during the first part of the tragedy.

that, because it is female, it must needs be selfish. The Venus de Medici.[1]

N.B. It is Othello's *honest*, Cassio's *bold* Iago—and [observe] Cassio's full guileless-hearted wishes [for the happiness of Othello and Desdemona] ! But again the exquisite circumstance of [Cassio's] kissing Iago's wife, as if it ought to be impossible that the dullest auditor should not feel Cassio's religious love of Desdemona's purity. Say something a fair moral critic ought to do on the sneers which a proud bad intellect feels towards women, and expresses to a wife !

The struggle of courtesy in Desdemona to abstract her attention.

[II. i. 166-68.

Iago. [*Aside*] He takes her by the palm : ay, well said, whisper ; with as little a web as this will I ensnare as great a fly as Cassio. Ay, smile upon her, do.]

O, excellent ! The importance given to fertile trifles, made fertile by the villainy of the observer.

[II. i. 216-44.] Iago seeks to persuade Roderigo that Desdemona loves Cassio.]

Iago's rehearsing on the dupe Roderigo his intentions on Othello.

[II. i. 288-90. Iago's soliloquy.

But partly led to diet my revenge,
For that I do suspect the lusty Moor
Hath leap'd into my seat :]

The thought, at first by his own confession a mere suspicion, [is] now ripening—tho' perhaps Shakespeare *compromised.*

[II. iii. 6.] " *Oth.* Iago is most honest "—(here perhaps [explain] the true Othello's *not* jealous character and the proofs).

[1] Presumably Coleridge intended to compare the disinterested love of beauty in art with the possibility of a similar feeling for human beings.

[II. iii. 238-40.

Oth. I know, Iago,
Thy honesty and love doth mince this matter,
Making it light to Cassio.]

Thy *honesty* and love.

[II. iii. 325-28. Iago's soliloquy.

Iago. And what's he then that says I play the villain ?
When this advice is free I give and honest,
Probal to thinking, and indeed the course
To win the Moor again ?]

Not absolute fiend ; at least, he wishes to think himself [not] so.

[III. iii. 19-28. Desdemona promises to help Cassio.

Des. Do not doubt that ; before Emilia here
I give thee warrant of thy place, etc.]

The overzeal of innocence in Desdemona.

[III. iii. 282-83. The sight of Desdemona drives away Othello's suspicion.

If she be false, O, then heaven mocks itself !
I'll not believe 't.]

Divine ! the effect of innocence and the better genius.

[IV. iii. 78-80.

Emil. Why the wrong is but a wrong i' the world ; and having the world for your labour, 'tis a wrong in your own world, and you might quickly make it right.

Warburton interprets this as a bit of theological satire.]

What* any other man, who had learning enough, might have quoted as a playful and witty illustration of his remarks against this Calvinistic thesis, Warburton gravely attributes to Shakespeare as intentional ; and this too in the mouth of [a] lady's woman.

[V. ii. The dialogue of Othello and Desdemona before Othello murders her.]

Is this jealousy ?

[V. ii. 349-51. Othello's death-speech.

. . . . of one whose hand,
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe.

Following, in part, a suggestion of Warburton, Theobald defends the reading of the first Folio, *Iudean*, which he alters to *Judian*.]

Thus* it is for no-poets to comment on the greatest of poets ! To make Othello say that he, who had killed his wife, was like Herod, who had killed his ! O, how many beauties in this one line were impenetrable by the *thought*-swarming, ever *idea*less Warburton ![1] Othello wishes to excuse himself on the score of ignorance, and yet not to excuse himself—to excuse himself by accusing. This struggle of feeling is finely conveyed in the word " base," which is applied to the *rude* Indian not in his own character, but as the momentary representative of Othello. " Indian " means American or Carib, a savage *in genere*.

[*Lear*.]

Of all Shakspeare's plays Macbeth is the most rapid, Hamlet the slowest, in movement. Lear combines length with rapidity,—like the hurricane and the whirlpool, absorbing while it advances. It begins as a stormy day in summer, with brightness ; but that brightness is lurid, and anticipates the tempest.[2]

[1] Coleridge is here a little unjust to Warburton. Theobald should have been the chief object of his attack.

[2] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.* The first sentence seems to show the influence of Schlegel, who makes nearly the same remark (*Werke*, vi. 257). Cf. also i. 79 ; ii. 273, for Coleridge's repetitions of this remark. The third sentence is certainly Schlegel's, though with a different application. " If *Romeo and Juliet* shines with the colors of dawn, but of a dawn whose purple clouds announce the thunder of a sultry day, *Othello* is, on the other hand, a picture with deep shadows : we might call it a Rembrandt in tragedy " (*Werke* vi. 244). Coleridge has, as usual, somewhat bettered the style of his original, but the plagiarism is evident.

[I. i. 1-6.

Kent. I thought the king had more affected the Duke of Albany than Cornwall.

Glou. It did always seem so to us : but now, in the division of the kingdom, it appears not which of the dukes he values most ; for equalities are so weighed that curiosity in neither can make choice of either's moiety.]

It was [not] without forethought, and it is not without its due significance, that the triple division is stated here as already determined and in all its particulars, previously to the trial of professions, as the relative rewards of which the daughters were to be made to consider their several portions. The strange, yet by no means unnatural, mixture of selfishness, sensibility, and habit of feeling derived from and fostered by the particular rank and usages of the individual ; the intense desire to be intensely beloved, selfish, and yet characteristic of the selfishness of a loving and kindly nature —a feeble selfishness, self-supportless and leaning for all pleasure on another's breast ; the selfish craving after a sympathy with a prodigal disinterestedness, contradicted by its own ostentation and the mode and nature of its claims ; the anxiety, the distrust, the jealousy, which more or less accompany all selfish affections, and are among the surest contradistinctions [a] of mere fondness from love, and which originate Lear's eager wish to enjoy his daughter's violent professions, while the inveterate habits of sovereignty convert the wish into claim and positive right, and the incompliance with it into crime and treason ;—these facts, these passions, these moral verities, on which the whole tragedy is founded, are all prepared for, and will to the retrospect be found implied in, these first four or five lines of the play. They let us know that the trial is but a trick[1] ; and that the grossness of the old king's rage is in part the natural result of a silly trick suddenly and most unexpectedly baffled and disappointed.[1] This having been provided in the fewest words,

[a] *MS.* ' *contradictions.*'

[1] " *Here* notice the improbability and nursery tale character of the tale prefixed as the *porch* of the edifice, not laid as its foundation. So

in a natural reply to as natural [a] question, which yet answers a secondary purpose of attracting our attention to the difference or diversity between the characters of Cornwall and Albany ; the premises and data, as it were, having been thus afforded for our after-insight into the mind and mood of the person whose character, passions, and sufferings are the main *subject-matter* of the play ;—from Lear, the *persona patiens* of his drama, Shakespeare passes without delay to the second in importance, to the main *agent* and prime mover —introduces Edmund to our acquaintance, and with the same felicity of judgement, in the same easy, natural way, prepares us for his character in the seemingly casual communication of its origin and occasion. From the first drawing up of the curtain he has stood before us in the united strength and beauty of earliest manhood. Our eyes have been questioning him. Gifted thus with high advantages of *person*, and further endowed by nature with a powerful intellect and a strong energetic will, even without any concurrence of circumstances and accident, pride will be the sin that most easily besets him. But he is the known and acknowledged son of the princely Gloster. Edmund, therefore, has both the germ of pride and the conditions best fitted to evolve and ripen it into a predominant feeling. Yet hitherto no reason appears why it should be other than the not unusual pride of person, talent, and birth, a pride auxiliary if not akin to many virtues, and the natural ally of honorable [impulses ?]. But alas ! in his own presence his own father takes shame to himself for the frank avowal that he is his father—has " blushed so often to acknowledge him that he is now braz'd to it." He hears his mother and the circumstances of his birth spoken of with a most degrading and licentious levity—described as a wanton by her own paramour, and the remembrance of the animal sting, the low criminal gratifications connected with her wantonness

Shylock's pound of flesh, *item* an old popular ballad. With how great judgement what still remains is . . . [?]." Coleridge's note. H. N. C. here interpolated another discussion of this subject from the marginalia on Theobald's Shakespeare (cf. i. 59-60). This required, however, certain slight changes in the text.

and prostituted beauty assigned as the reason why "the whoreson must be acknowledged." This, and the consciousness of its notoriety—the gnawing conviction that every shew of respect is an effort of courtesy which recalls while it represses a contrary feeling—this is the ever-trickling flow of wormwood and gall into the wounds of pride, the corrosive virus which inoculates pride with a venom not its own, with envy, hatred, a lust of that power which in its blaze of radiance would hide the dark spots on his disk, [with] pangs of shame personally undeserved and therefore felt as wrongs, and a blind ferment of vindictive workings towards the occasions and causes, especially towards a brother whose stainless birth and lawful honors were the constant remembrancers of *his* debasement, and were ever in the way to prevent all chance of its being unknown or overlooked and forgotten. Add to this that with excellent judgement, and provident for the claims of the moral sense, for that which relatively to the drama is called poetic justice; and as the fittest means for reconciling the feelings of the spectators to the horrors of Gloster's after sufferings,—at least, of rendering them somewhat less unendurable (for I will not disguise my conviction that in this one point the tragic has been urged beyond the outermost mark and *ne plus ultra* of the dramatic)—Shakespeare has precluded all excuse and palliation of the guilt incurred by both the parents of the base-born Edmund by Gloster's confession that he was at the time a married man and already blest with a lawful heir of his fortunes. The mournful alienation of brotherly love occasioned by primogeniture in noble families, or rather by the unnecessary distinctions engrafted thereon, and this in children of the same stock, is still almost proverbial on the continent—especially, as I know from my own observation, in the south of Europe—and appears to have been scarcely less common in our own island before the Revolution of 1688, if we may judge from the characters and sentiments so frequent in our elder comedies—the younger brother, for instance, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, on one side and the Oliver in Shakespeare's

own *As You Like It*, on the other. Need it be said how heavy an aggravation the stain of bastardy must have been, were it only that the younger brother was liable to hear his own dishonor and his mother's infamy related by his father with an excusing shrug of the shoulders, and in a tone betwixt waggery and shame.

By the circumstances here enumerated as so many predisposing causes, Edmund's character might well be deem'd already sufficiently explained and prepared for. But in this tragedy the story or fable constrained Shakespeare to introduce wickedness in an outrageous form, in Regan and Goneril. He had read nature too heedfully not to know that courage, intellect, and strength of character were the most impressive forms of power, and that to power in itself, without reference to any moral end, an inevitable admiration and complacency appertains, whether it be displayed in the conquests of a Napoleon or Tamerlane, or in the foam and thunder of a cataract. But in the display of such a character it was of the highest importance to prevent the guilt from passing into utter *monstrosity*—which again depends on the presence or absence of causes and temptations sufficient to *account* for the wickedness, without the necessity of recurring to a thorough fiendishness of nature for its origination. For such are the appointed relations of intellectual power to truth, and of truth to goodness, that it becomes both morally and poetic[ally] unsafe to present what is admirable—what our nature compels us to admire—in the mind, and what is most detestable in the heart, as co-existing in the same individual without any apparent connection, or any modification of the one by the other. That Shakespeare has in one instance, that of Iago, approached to this, and that he has done it successfully, is perhaps the most astonishing proof of his genius, and the opulence of its resources. But in the present tragedy, in which he [was] compelled to present a Goneril and Regan, it was most carefully to be avoided; and, therefore, the one only conceivable addition to the inauspicious influences on the preformation of Edmund's character is given in the information that all the kindly

counteractions to the mischievous feelings of shame that might have been derived from co-domestication with Edgar and their common father, had been cut off by an absence from home and a foreign education from boyhood to the present time, and the prospect of its continuance, as if to preclude all risk of his interference with the father's views for the elder and legitimate son :

> He hath been out nine years, and away he shall again.

It* is well worthy notice, that *Lear* is the only serious performance of Shakespeare the interest and situations of which are derived from the assumption of a gross improbability ; whereas Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedies are, almost all, founded on some out-of-the-way accident or exception to the general experience of mankind. But observe the matchless judgement of Shakespeare ! First, improbable as the conduct of Lear is, in the first scene, yet it was an old story, rooted in the popular faith—a thing taken for granted already, and consequently without any of the *effects* of improbability. Secondly, it is merely the canvas to the characters and passions, a mere *occasion*—not (as in Beaumont and Fletcher) perpetually recurring, as the cause and *sine qua non* of the incidents and emotions. Let the first scene of *Lear* have been lost, and let it be only understood that a fond father had been duped by hypocritical professions of love and duty on the part of two daughters to disinherit a third, previously, and deservedly, more dear to him, and all the rest of the tragedy would retain its interest undiminished, and be perfectly intelligible. The *accidental* is nowhere the groundwork of the passions, but the *καθολον*, that which in all ages has been and ever will be close and native to the heart of man—parental anguish from filial ingratitude, the genuineness of worth, tho' coffered in bluntness, the vileness of smooth iniquity. Perhaps I ought to have added the *Merchant of Venice* ; but here too the same remarks apply. It was an old tale ; and substitute any other danger than that of the pound of flesh (the circumstance in which the improbability lies), yet all the situations and the emotions

appertaining to them remain equally excellent and appropriate. Whereas take away from *The Mad Lover* the fantastic hypothesis of his engagement to cut out his own heart and have it presented to his mistress, and all the main scenes must go with it.[1]

Kotzebue* is the German Beaumont and Fletcher, without their poetic powers and without their *vis comica*. But like them he always deduces his situations and passions from marvellous accidents, and the trick of bringing one part of our moral nature to counteract another—as our pity for misfortune and admiration of generosity and courage to combat our condemnation of guilt, as in adultery, robbery, etc.; and like them too, he excels in his mode of telling a story clearly and interestingly, in a series of dramatic dialogues. Only the trick of making tragedy-heroes and heroines out of shopkeepers and barmaids was too low for the age, and too unpoetic for the genius, of Beaumont and Fletcher, inferior in every respect as they are to their great predecessor and contemporary! *How* inferior would they have appeared, had not Shakespeare existed for them to *imitate*—which in every play, more or less, they do, and in their tragedies most glaringly; and yet (O shame! shame!) miss no opportunity of sneering at the divine man and subdetracting from his merits!! S. T. Coleridge, 1 Jan^y., 1813. 71, Berner's St. Oxford Street.

[I. i. 84-92.

Lear. . . . . what can you say to draw
A third more opulent than your sisters? Speak.
Cor. Nothing, my lord.
Lear. Nothing!
Cor. Nothing.
Lear. Nothing will come of nothing: speak again.
Cor. Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave
My heart into my mouth: I love your majesty
According to my bond; nor more nor less.]

Something of disgust at the ruthless hypocrisy of her sisters, some little faulty admixture of pride and sullenness

[1] Cf. ii. 34.

in Cordelia's " Nothing." [It is] well contrived to lessen the glaring absurdity of Lear ; but the surest plan [is] that of forcing away the attention from the nursery-tale the moment it has answered its purpose, that of supplying the canvas to paint on. This [is] done by Kent—[his punishment] displaying [a] Lear's *moral* incapability of resigning the sovereign power in the very moment of disposing of it.

Kent [is] the nearest to perfect goodness of all Shakespeare's characters, and yet the most *individualized*. His passionate affection and fidelity to Lear acts on our feelings in Lear's own favor ; virtue itself seems to be in company with him.

[I. ii. 9-14.

Edm. . . . . Why brand they us
With base ? with baseness ? bastardy ? base, base ?
Who in the lusty stealth of nature take
More composition and fierce quality
Than doth, within a dull, stale, tired bed,
Go to the creating a whole tribe of fops.

Warburton cites these lines as characteristic of Edmund's atheism and quotes the wish of the atheist Vanini that he might have been born out of wedlock, for reasons [1] similar to those given by Edmund in defence of his own birth.]

Poor* Vanini ! Any one but Warburton would have thought the quotation more characteristic of Mr. Shandy than of atheism ! If the fact really were so (which it not only is not, but almost contrary) I do not see why the most confirmed theist might not very rationally utter the same wish. But it is proverbial that the youngest son in a large family is commonly the man of the greatest talents of the family *et incalescere in venerem ardentius*,[1] *spei sobolis injuriosum*. S. T. C.

In this speech of Edmund you see, as soon as a man cannot reconcile himself to reason, how his conscience flies

[a] *MS.* ' *Kent—and displaying.*'

[1] " *Ita enim progenitores mei* in venerem incaluissent ardentius. . . . " Vanini, quoted by Warburton.

off by way of appeal to nature, who is sure upon such occasions never to find fault, and also how shame sharpens a predisposition in the heart to evil. For it is a profound moral, that shame will naturally generate guilt ; the oppressed will be vindictive, like Shylock, and in the anguish of undeserved ignominy the delusion secretly springs up, of getting over the moral quality of an action by fixing the mind on the mere physical act alone.[1]

[I. ii. 113-116.

Edm. This is the excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behaviour —we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon and the stars.]

Scorn and misanthropy [are] often the anticipations and mouth-pieces of wisdom in the detection of superstitions. Both individuals and nations may be free from superstition by being below it as well as by rising above it.

[I. iii. 13-22. Goneril authorizes the Steward to be rude to Lear.]

The Steward (as a contrast to[a] Kent) [is] the only character of utter unredeemable *baseness* in Shakespeare. [Observe] even in this the judgement and invention. What could the willing tool of a Goneril be ? Not a vice but this of baseness was left open for him.

[I. iv.] Old age, like infancy, is itself a character. In Lear the natural imperfections [are] increased by life-long habits of being promptly obeyed. Any addition of individuality [would be] unnecessary and painful. The relations of others to him, of wondrous fidelity and frightful ingratitude, sufficiently distinguish him. Thus he is the open and ample play-room of *nature's* passions.

[a] *In this case, as in a few others which I shall not indicate, Coleridge uses a symbol for the four preceding words. This symbol, a large X crossed with a horizontal bar, is explained on one of the fly-leaves of his own copy of Shakespeare's works.*

[1] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.*

The Fool [is] no comic buffoon to make the groundlings laugh, no forced condescension of Shakespeare's genius to the taste of his audiences. Accordingly, he is *prepared* for —brought into living connection with the pathos of the play, with the sufferings.

> Since my young lady's [going into France, sir, the fool hath much pined away].

The Fool [is] as wonderful a creation as the Caliban—an inspired idiot.

[Goneril quarrels with her father.]

The monster Goneril prepares what is *necessary*, while the character of Albany renders a still more maddening grievance possible ; viz. Regan and Cornwall in perfect sympathy of monstrosity. Not a sentiment, not an image that can give pleasure on its own account [is] admitted. Pure horror when they are introduced, and [they are] brought forward as little as possible.

> [I. iv. 259.
>
> Ingratitude, thou marble-hearted fiend.]

The *one* general sentiment, as the mainspring of the feelings throughout, in Lear's first speeches. In the early stage the outward object is the pressure ; [the mind is] not yet sufficiently familiarized with the anguish for the imagination to work upon it.

> [I. iv. 311-14.
>
> *Gon.* Do you mark that, my lord ?
> *Alb.* I cannot be so partial, Goneril,
> To the great love I bear you,—
> *Gon.* Pray you, content.]

The baffled endeavour of Goneril to act on the fears of Albany—and yet his passiveness, inertia—not convinced, yet afraid of looking into the thing. Such characters yield to those who will take the trouble of governing them or for

them.[a] . . .The influence of a princess whose choice of him had so royalized his state [is] some little excuse for Albany.

[I. v. 43.
Lear. O, let me not be mad, not mad, . . .]

The mind's own anticipation of madness.

The deepest tragic notes are often struck by a half sense of an impending blow. The Fool's conclusion of this act by a grotesque prattling seems to indicate the dislocation of feeling that has begun and is to be continued.[1]

[II. i. 66-67.
Edm. . . . . he replied,
' Thou unpossessing bastard . . . ']

" *Thou unpossessing bastard* "—the secret poison in Edmund's heart—and then poor Gloster's " Loyal and *natural* boy," as if praising the *crime* of his birth !

[II. i. 91-92.
Reg. What, did my father's godson seek your life ?
He whom my father named ? Your Edgar ?]

Incomparable ! " What, did *my father's*," etc., compared with the unfeminine violence of the " all vengeance comes too short "—and yet no reference to the guilt but to the accident.

[II. ii. 90-92.
Corn. This is some fellow,
Who, having been praised for bluntness, doth affect
A saucy roughness.]

In thus placing these profound general truths in such mouths as Cornwall's, Edmund's, Iago's, etc., Shakespeare at once gives them and yet shews how indefinite their application.

[a] *Omitted passage :* Σ ι ρ T. B. + Σ Γ. B. *I can make nothing of this, either as cipher or as a Greek transliteration of English letters. The key to Coleridge's cipher does not apply to these letters, which should, I think, merely be transliterated into English :* " *Sir T.B.+S.G.B.*

[1] " The deepest . . . continued." Reprinted from *L.R.*

[II. iii.] Edgar's false madness taking off part of the shock from the true, as well as displaying the profound difference. Modern [attempts at representing madness] lightheadedness, as Otway's,[1] etc.

In Edgar's ravings Shakspeare all the while lets you see a fixed purpose, a practical end in view ;—in Lear's, there is only the brooding of the one anguish, an eddy without progression.[2]

[II. iv. 98-110.

Lear. The king would speak with Cornwall . . .

. . . . . .

'Fiery'? 'the fiery duke'? Tell the hot duke that—
No, but not yet : may be he is not well : etc.]

The strong interest now felt by Lear to try to find excuses for his daughter—most pathetic.

[II. iv. 131-38.

Lear. . . . . Beloved Regan,
Thy sister's naught : . . .
Reg. I pray you, sir, take patience : I have hope
You less know how to value her desert
Than she to scant her duty.]

Nothing so heart-cutting as a cold unexpected defence, etc., of a cruelty complained of passionately, or so expressive of hardheartedness ; and the horror of [Regan's] " O, sir, you are old "—and then drawing from that universal object of reverence and indulgence the reason for " Say, you have wronged her." All Lear's faults increase our pity. We refuse to know them otherwise than as means and aggravations of his sufferings and his daughters' ingratitude.

[II. iv. 263-85.

Lear. O, reason not the need : our basest beggars
Are in the poorest thing superfluous : etc.]

The tranquillity from the first *stun* permitting Lear to *reason*. Recite this.

[1] Coleridge refers to the madness of Belvidera in the last scene of *Venice Preserved*.

[2] " In Edgar's . . . progression." Reprinted from *L.R.*

[III. iv. Lear's despair and growing madness in the storm.]

What a world's *convention* of agonies! Surely, never was such a scene conceived before or since. Take it but as a picture for the eye only, it is more terrific than any a Michael Angelo inspired by a Dante could have conceived, and which none but a Michael Angelo could have executed. Or let it have been uttered to the blind, the howlings of convulsed nature would seem converted into the voice of conscious humanity.

The scene ends with the first symptoms of positive derangement—here how judiciously interrupted [by the fifth scene] in order to allow an interval for Lear in full madness to appear.

[III. vii. The blinding of Gloucester.]

What can I say of this scene? My reluctance to think Shakespeare wrong, and yet—

[Later.] Necessary to harmonise their [Goneril's and Regan's] cruelty to their father.

[IV. vi. Lear's milder madness near the camp of Cordelia.]

The thunder recurs, but still at a greater distance from our feelings.

[IV. vii. 52-54.

Lear. Where have I been? Where am I? Fair daylight?
I am mightily abused. I should e'en die with pity,
To see another thus.]

The affecting return of Lear to reason, and the mild pathos preparing the mind for the last sad yet sweet consolation of his death.

[V. i. 24-27. Theobald emends the passage, but in his note prints the 'old quarto' text as follows:

. . . . for this business
It touches us, as France invades our land,
Not holds [a] the King, with others whom I fear
Most just and heavy causes make oppose.]

[a] *Read 'bolds.'*

Evidently* the old reading is the right one, [not Theobald's] : " As to this business, however, I do feel myself honestly engaged ; I mean as far as we are resisting *invasion*, not in relation to the good king and other justly provoked opponents of our own countrymen." S. T. C.

[*Macbeth.*]

The opening of *Macbeth* [should be] contrasted with that of *Hamlet*. In the latter the gradual ascent from the simplest forms of conversation to the language of impassioned intellect, yet still the intellect remaining the *seat* of passion ; in the *Macbeth* the invocation is made at once to the imagination, and the emotions connected therewith. Yet [there is] superstition in both : yet in each not merely different but opposite.[1] The weird sisters [are] as true a *creation* of Shakespeare's as his Ariel and Caliban, the Fates, the Furies, and the *materializing* witches being the elements.[2]

The [Sergeant's speeches in the] second scene [may be] illustrated by reference to the play in Hamlet, in which the epic is substituted for the tragic in order to make the latter be felt as the *real-life* diction.

[1] Here H. N. C. interpolates, from an unknown source, these two sentences : " In the first it is connected with the best and holiest feelings ; in the second with the shadowy, turbulent, and unsanctified cravings of the individual will. Nor is the purpose the same ; in the one the object is to excite, whilst in the other it is to mark a mind already excited."

As in the case of *Hamlet*, H. N. C. wove together three different MS. sources for the notes on this play which are reprinted in *L.R.* These three sources are here printed separately without attempting the complicated task of explaining their relations in the text to *L.R.*

[2] (Cf. ii. 269.) Coleridge is here probably influenced by Schlegel, not directly, but by reaction. Schlegel criticises adversely the opinion that they are " mongrel beings, Fates, Furies, and witches," *Werke*, vi. 253. —At this point H. N. C. interpolates the following comment on the witches : " They are wholly different from any representation of witches in the contemporary writers, and yet presented a sufficient external resemblance to the creatures of vulgar prejudice to act immediately on the audience. Their character consists in the imaginative disconnected from the good ; they are the shadowy obscure and fearfully anomalous of physical nature, the lawless of human nature,—elemental avengers without sex or kin :

> Fair is foul, and foul is fair ;
> Hover thro' the fog and filthy air."

[I. iii.] The wish that in *Macbeth* the attempt might be made to introduce the flexile character-mask of the ancient pantomime—that a Flaxman might contribute his genius to the embodying of Shakespeare's.

That I have assigned the true reason for the first appearance of the Weird Sisters, as the keynote of the character of the whole play, is proved by the re-entrance of the sisters, after such an order of the king's as establishes their supernatural powers of information.[a] Yet still [it was] information: "king hereafter" was still contingent, still in Macbeth's moral will, tho' if he yielded to the temptation and thus forfeited his free-agency, then the link of *cause* and *effect more physico* would commence; and thus [likewise] the prophetic visions afterwards [in the fourth act]. I surely need not say, that the *general* idea is all that can be required from the poet, not a scholastic logical consistency in all the parts so as to meet metaphysical objections.

But O how truly Shakespearean is the opening of Macbeth's character given in the *unpossessedness* of Banquo's mind, wholly present to the present object—an unsullied, unscarified mirror; and [it is] in strict truth of nature that he, and not Macbeth himself, directs our notice to the effect produced in Macbeth's mind, rendered *temptable* by previous dalliance of the fancy with ambitious thoughts. (See *Wallenstein*, soliloquy, Part I [*The Piccolomini*, IV, iv]).

> Good sir, why do you start and seem to fear
> Things that do sound so fair?

And then again, still unintröitive, [he] addresses the appearances.

The questions of Banquo [are] those of natural curiosity —such as a girl would make after she had heard a gypsy tell her schoolfellow's fortune—all perfectly general, or rather *planless*. But Macbeth, lost in thought, raises himself to speech only by their being about to depart: "*Stay*, you imperfect speakers"; and all that follows is reasoning on a

[a] *In the MS. the paragraph is interrupted at this point by the insertion of the paragraph which I have placed immediately before. Coleridge marked these disjointed fragments to go in the order observed in the text.*

problem already discussed in his mind, on a hope which he welcomes, and the doubts concerning its attainment he wishes to have cleared up. His eagerness—the eager eye with which he had pursued their evanition, compared with the easily satisfied mind of the self-uninterested Banquo.

> The earth hath bubbles [as the water has,
> And these are of them :] whither are they vanished ?
> *M.* Into the air, and what seem'd corporal melted
> As breath into the wind. *Would they had stay'd !*

Is it too minute to notice the appropriateness of the simile " as breath " in a cold climate ?

Still again Banquo's wonder [is] that of any spectator : " Were such things here ? " And Macbeth's recurrence to the *self-concerning* : " Your children shall be kings." So truly is the guilt in its germ anterior to the supposed cause and immediate temptation. Before he can cool, the *confirmation* of the tempting half of the prophecy [arrives], and the *catenating* tendency [of the mind is] fostered by the sudden coincidence :

> Glamis, and thane of Cawdor
> The greatest is behind.

Contrast Banquo's [simple surprise,]

> What, can the devil speak true ?

[I. iii. 120-21. Banquo to Macbeth.

> That, trusted home,
> Might yet enkindle you unto the crown.]

I doubt whether " enkindle " has not another sense than that of " stimulating," whether [that of] the " kind " and " kin," as in [the phrase,] " rabbits kindle." [1] However, Macbeth hears no more *ab extra* :

> Two truths [are told,
> As happy prologues to the swelling act
> Of the imperial theme.]

and [feeling] the necessity of recollecting himself—

> I thank you, gentlemen.

[1] *I.e.* ' rabbits bring forth (young).'

[What [a] follows is a] confirmation of the remark on the birth-date of guilt ; and then [note] the warning of the conscience, and the mode of lulling it—

> If chance will have me king, why [chance may crown me,
> Without my stir]—

and the suspicion that others might see what was passing in his mind, all prospective, [appears] by the *lie*—

> [my dull brain was] wrought
> With things *forgotten*—

and instantly the *promising courtesies* of a usurper in intention—

> [Kind gentlemen, your pains
> Are register'd where every day I turn
> The leaf to read them.]

[I. iii. 137-38.

> Present fears
> Are less than horrible imaginings :

Warburton's note suggests ' feats ' in place of ' fears.']

Mercy* on this most wilful ingenuity of blundering, which was the very Warburton of Warburton—his being ! " Fears " here are present fear-striking objects—*terribilia adstantia.*

[I. iv.] And O, the affecting beauty of the death of Cawdor, and the king's presentimental remark—

> [There's no art
> To find the mind's construction in the face :
> He was a gentleman on whom I built
> An absolute trust]—

interrupted by the " worthiest cousin," on the entrance of the deeper traitor to whom Cawdor had made way. And here in contrast with Duncan's " plenteous joys," Macbeth has nothing but the commonplaces of loyalty,[1] in which he

[a] *MS.* ' 30-45, *col.* β.'

[1] " *Reasoning* instead of joy ; effort ; stammering repetition of ' duties.' " Coleridge's note on this passage (I. iv. 22-27) in the Theobald edition.

hides himself in the "air"; and in the same language of *effort*—

The rest is labour,[1] [which is not used for you]—

at the moment that a new difficulty suggests a new crime. This, however, seems the first distinct notion as to the *plan* of realizing his wishes; and here, therefore, with great propriety, Macbeth's cowardice of his own conscience discloses itself.

[I. iv. 31-35.

Dun. . . . . let me infold thee
And hold thee to my heart.
Ban. There if I grow,
The harvest is your own.
Dun. My plenteous joys,
Wanton in fulness, seek to hide themselves
In drops of sorrow.]

Compare* with vulgar dramatists, whose characters seem to have made their speeches as actors learn them.

[I. iv. 35-42. Duncan's speech :—

Sons, kinsmen, thanes,
And you whose places are the nearest, know,
We will establish our estate upon
Our eldest, Malcolm, whom we name hereafter
The Prince of Cumberland : which honour must
Not unaccompanied invest him only,
But signs of nobleness, like stars, shall shine
On all deservers.]

Messiah—Satan.[2]

[I. v.] Macbeth [is] described by Lady Macbeth so as at the same time to describe her own character. Intellectually considered, he is powerful in all [things] but has

[1] "Hollow hyperbole." Coleridge's note on this line in the Theobald edition.

[2] H. N. C. interprets this, rightly I think, as a comparison of Malcolm and Macbeth to Milton's Messiah and Satan, *Paradise Lost*, v. 600-15, etc.

strength in none.[1] Morally [he is] *selfish* ; *i.e.* as far as his weakness will permit him [to be]. Could he have everything he wanted, he would *rather* have it innocently—ignorant, as alas ! how many are, that he who wishes a temporal end for itself does in truth will the *means* ; hence the danger of indulging fancies.

Lady Macbeth—" with the valor of my tongue "
[I. v. 24].

Day-dreamer's valiance.

Lady Macbeth, like all in Shakespeare, is a class individualized :—of high rank, left much alone, and feeding herself with day-dreams of ambition, she mistakes the courage of fantasy for the power of bearing the consequences of the realities of guilt. Hers is the mock fortitude of a mind deluded by ambition ; she shames her husband with a superhuman audacity of fancy which she cannot support, but sinks in the season of remorse, and dies in suicidal agony.[2]

[I. v. 35-51. Lady Macbeth's soliloquy.
. . . . Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, etc.]

One* who had habitually familiarized her imagination to dreadful conceptions and was trying to do it still more.

All the false efforts of a mind accustomed only to the shadows of the imagination,. vivid enough to throw the every-day realities into shadows, but not yet compared with their own correspondent realities.

No womanly, no wifely joy [3] at the return of her husband ; no retrospection on the dangers he had escaped. Contrast Macbeth's [greeting], " My dearest love," and his shrinking from the boldness with which she presents his own thoughts to him, " We shall [a] speak further."

[a] *Read* ' *will*.'

[1] His powers lack the direction of a controlling will. See *Anima Poetae* (London, 1895), p. 197.

[2] The two preceding sentences are reprinted from *L.R.*

[3] " No woman's life, no joyous terrors, at the thought of his past dangers, but all fantasy [?]." Coleridge's note in the Theobald edition.

The* consummate art of first using herself as incentives what his conscience would perhaps have used as motives of abhorrence, [the presence of Duncan in their own castle]. So to herself [in her previous soliloquy[a]].

[I. v. 50-51.

Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry ' Hold, hold ! ']

" Height* " is often spelled in our oldest manuscripts " Het." [1] I suspect that Shakespeare wrote :

Nor heaven peep thro' the blank height of the dark
To cry, Hold, hold !

The classical reader will recollect the . . . [?] image in Lucretius of Superstition looking down from the dark heaven.[2] S. T. C.

[I. vi.] The lyrical movement with which this scene opens, and the free and unengaged mind of Banquo, loving nature, and rewarded in the love itself, form a highly dramatic contrast with the laboured rhythm and hypocritical over-much of Lady Macbeth's welcome, in which you cannot detect a ray of personal feeling, but all is thrown upon the ' dignities,' the general duty.[3]

[a] *MS.* ' *p.* 300.'

[1] No such variant form is recorded either in the *New English Dictionary* or in Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*.

[2] *De Rerum Natura*, i. 62-65.

" *Humana ante oculos foede cum vita iaceret*
in terris oppressa gravi sub religione
quae caput a coeli regionibus ostendebat
horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans. . . ."

Though ' superstition ' is not an uncommon translation of ' religione,' ' religion ' is more accurate. The note printed above appeared in the 1835 edition of *Table-Talk* (ii. 295-96), but was omitted from the second and all later editions, at the suggestion of Alexander Dyce. See Dyce's edition of Shakespeare (1866-67), vii. 78.

[3] This note is reprinted from *L.R.* The last two or three lines are evidently a re-writing of the marginalia from the MSS. which immediately follow. The reference is adapted to the present edition of Coleridge's criticism.

[I. vi. 14-20. Lady Macbeth welcomes Duncan to her castle.

All our service
In every point twice done, and then done double,
Were poor and single business to contend
Against those honours deep and broad wherewith
Your majesty loads our house : etc.]

The very rhythm expresses the insincere overmuch in Lady Macbeth's answer to the king.

Still* the same [as in Macbeth's speeches in the fourth scene]. No personal sense—all " dignities."

[I. vii. 31-35.

Macb. We will proceed no further in this business :
He hath honour'd me of late ; and I have bought
Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
Which would be worn now in their newest gloss,
Not cast aside so soon.]

The inward pangs and warnings of conscience interpreted into *prudential* reasonings.

[II. i. 6-9. Banquo's speech.

A heavy summons lies like lead upon me,
And yet I would not sleep. Merciful powers,
Restrain in me the cursed thoughts that nature
Gives way to in repose !]

The disturbance of an innocent soul by painful suspicions of another's guilty intentions and wishes, and fear of the *cursed thoughts*.

[II. ii. 9-10.

Lady M. Alack, I am afraid they have awaked
And 'tis not done.]

The very first reality, Lady Macbeth shrinks.

[II. ii. 26-29.

Macb. One cried ' God bless us ! ' and ' Amen ' the other,
As they had seen me with these hangman's hands :
Listening their fear, I could not say ' Amen,'
When they did say ' God bless us ! ']

The* novelty given to the most familiar images by a new state of feelings.

[II. ii. 50-52. Macbeth refuses to take back the daggers.

I'll go no more :
I am afraid to think what I have done ;
Look on't again I dare not.]

Now* conscience rushes in in her own person. Compare this with [Macbeth's soliloquy [a]] before the deed, when conscience hid herself in selfish prudential fears.

[II. ii. 64-72. The knocking at the gate.

Lady M. My hands are of your colour, but I shame
To wear a heart so white, etc.]

A* woman of high rank.

[II. ii. 73-74.

Macb. To know my deed, 'twere best not know myself.
Wake Duncan with thy knocking ! I would thou couldst !]

Need I say, contrast with [the] soliloquy,

[If it were done when 'tis done, . . . I. vii.] [b]

[II. iii.] This* low porter soliloquy I believe written for the mob by some other hand, perhaps with Shakespeare's consent—and that finding it take, he with the remaining ink of a pen otherwise employed just interpolated it with the sentence, " I'll devil-porter it no further " and what follows [1] to " bonfire." Of the rest not one syllable has the ever-present being of Shakespeare.[2]

[III. i. Macbeth with the murderers of Banquo.]

The mistake of Schiller in his *Wallenstein* [*The Death of Wallenstein*, IV, ii.] respecting the assassins.[3]

[a] *I, vii. MS.* ' 302-303.' (*Theobald edition.*)

[b] *MS.* ' *p.* 368.' (*Stockdale edition.*)

[1] " I had thought to have let in some of all professions, that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire."

[2] Cf. i. 77-78, and note.

[3] In a manuscript note on *Wallenstein*, printed by E. H. C. in the Oxford edition of *Coleridge's Poems*, ii. 598-99, note, the marginal

[III. ii. 16-19. Macbeth to Lady Macbeth.

But let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer,
Ere we will eat our meal in fear, and sleep
In the affliction of these terrible dreams
That shake us nightly :]

Ever and ever mistaking the anguish of conscience for fears of selfishness, and thus, as a punishment of that selfishness, plunging deeper in guilt and ruin.

[III. ii. 45-46.

Macb. Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,
Till thou applaud the deed.]

Sympathy with his own state of feelings and mistaking his wife's opposite state.

[III. iv. 122-26.

Macb. It will have blood : they say blood will have blood :
Stones have been known to move and trees to speak ;
Augures and understood relations have
By maggot-pies and choughs and rooks brought forth
The secret'st man of blood.]

Who* by guilt tears himself live-asunder from nature is himself in a preternatural state ; no wonder, therefore, if [he is] inclined to all superstition and faith in the preternatural.

[IV. i. 141-42.

Len. 'Tis two or three, my lord, that bring you word
Macduff is fled to England.
Macb. Fled to England !]

Acme of the avenging conscience.

comment on *Macbeth* is fully explained : " . . . The assassins talk ludicrously. This is a most egregious mis-imitation of Shakespere—Schiller should not have attempted tragico-comedy, and none but Shakespere has succeeded. It is wonderful, however, that Schiller, who had studied Shakespere, should not have perceived his divine judgment in the management of his assassins, as in *Macbeth*. They are fearful and almost pitiable Beings—not loathsome, ludicrous miscreants."

[IV. ii. The murder of Lady Macduff and her son.]

This* scene, dreadful as it is, is still a relief because a variety, because domestic. Something in the domestic affections always soothing because associated with the only real pleasures of life.

[IV. iii. 50-90. Though Malcolm slanders his own character, Macduff still prefers him to Macbeth.]

Moral—the[a] dreadful effects even on the best minds of [b] the soul-sickening sense of insecurity.

[IV. iii. Macduff hears of the slaughter of his wife and children.]

The manliness of the pathos in harmony with the play; it rends, not dissolves, the heart. "The[c] tune goes manly."

[V. iii. End of the scene.]

Now all is *inward*—no more prudential prospective reasonings.

[V. v. 16.
The queen, my lord, is dead.]

Despondency the final wretched heart-armour.[1]

Macbeth.[2]

Excepting the disgusting passage of the Porter, which I dare pledge myself to demonstrate an interpolation[d] of the

[a] *MS.* '*Moral—of the.*' [b] *MS.* '*by.*'
[c] *Read* '*This.*' *IV. iii.* 235. [d] *MS.* '*interpretation.*'

[1] The conclusion in *L.R.*, which I believe spurious, reads as follows: "His wife, the only being who could have had any seat in his affections, dies; he puts on despondency, the final heart-armour of the wretched, and would fain think everything shadowy and unsubstantial, as indeed all things are to those who cannot regard them as symbols of goodness:—

Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing."

[2] This fragment and that entitled "*Macbeth* and *Hamlet* contrasted" are taken from a transcript by E. H. C. of one of the note-books. These notes were intended for use in the second lecture of 1813 at Bristol, with which they may be compared (cf. ii. 269-72). Cf. also i. 37-40, 121-25, 152-56, 232-35, for other notes from the same note-book. The title of the lecture is Coleridge's.

actors,[1] I do not remember in *Macbeth* a single pun or play on words.[2] I defer my answer to this thousand times repeated charge against Shakespeare to a more fit opportunity, and merely mention the fact [of Macbeth's freedom from puns] as justifying a candid doubt at least, whether even in these figures of speech and fanciful modifications of language Shakespeare may not have followed rules and principles that merit and stand the test of philosophic examination.

Entire absence of comedy, nay, even of irony and philosophic contemplation in *Macbeth*—because wholly tragic.[a]

The objection that Shakespeare wounds the moral sense by the unsubdued, undisguised description of the most hateful atrocity, that he rends the feelings without mercy, and even outrages the eye itself by scenes of insupportable atrocity. Now *Titus Andronicus* is admitted not to have been Shakespeare's, I dare, with the one exception of the trampling out of Gloster's eyes in *Lear*, answer boldly in the name of Shakespeare, not guilty.[3]

SCHLEGEL, p. 67, [vol.] iii.

How preparatory to the most horrid scene, the assassination of Lady Macduff,[4] he at once gives variety, a pleasing

[a] *MS.* '223 *Ross.*' *A reference to Ross's speech on p.* 223, *vol. vi., Rann's ed. of Shakespeare* (1786). (*Cf. paragraph No.* 3, *i.* 80, *below.*)

[1] Coleridge's failure to accept the principle of comic relief is never shown more clearly than in this remark. (Cf. i. 75.) Schiller omitted this scene in his translation of *Macbeth* and substituted a lyrical scene of his own, in which the porter sings a morning song.

[2] Schlegel notices this (*Werke*, vi. 195), and may have influenced Coleridge; but this parallelism is so insignificant that it might easily be due to coincidence.

[3] This passage is marked by a cross to connect it with that which immediately follows in the present text. This second passage, which is also marked, comes from the preceding page in the manuscript. The reference to Schlegel is to the first edition, S. 67, Zweiter Theil, Zweite Abtheilung. Cf. *Werke*, vi. 195-96. Schlegel here states the objection which Coleridge is answering and replies to it; but Coleridge does not borrow from his reply in the least, though in the oral lecture he probably did so.

[4] "For my conclusion, Schlegel, iii. 67-69." Coleridge's note. See the preceding note.

relief, and yet heightens the after pathos, by the sweet scene between Lady Macduff and the child. Shakespeare's fondness for children: his Arthur [1]; the sweet scene in the *Winter's Tale* between Hermione and the [little prince]; nay, even Evans's examination of Mrs. Page's schoolboy.[2] Shakespeare always *master* of himself and his subject—a genuine Proteus; we see all things in *him*, as images in a calm lake, most distinct, most accurate,—only more splendid, more glorified. This is correctness in the only philosophical sense.

[The demand of French critics for literal delusion [3] ?], which is yet never attainable, and, if attainable, would disappoint the very purposes and ends of the drama, demonstrates not good sense, but an utter want of all imagination, a deadness to that necessary pleasure, the being innocently —shall I say, deluded ?—no ! but drawn away from ourselves into the music of noblest thoughts in harmonizing sounds. Hence the passage—blest he who not only in the public theatre,[4] etc.

Macbeth and *Hamlet* contrasted.

1. Rapidity of *Macbeth*.[5] Quote [a] [IV. i. 144-49] the . . . [speech of Macbeth ?].

> Time, thou anticipatest my dread exploits :
> The flighty purpose never is o'ertook
> Unless the deed go with it : from this moment
> The very firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand. And even now,
> To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done.]

[a] *MS.* '*Quote p.* 211 *the* . . . [?].' *The page-reference is to vol. vi., Rann's Shakespeare* (1786).

[1] *King John.* [2] *Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. i.

[3] The long supplied phrase in brackets takes the place of this omitted passage in German : " Das spottische auflarun [!] ob nicht ein umstand der Wirklichkeit undersporits [!]." As this stands in E.H.C.'s transcript, it is quite beyond the present editor ; and it evidently baffled H.N.C. also. The interpretation given above may be compared with i. 204.

[4] " Happy he, who not only in the public theatre, but in the labours of a profession, and round the light of his own hearth, still carries a heart so pleasure-fraught." H. N. Coleridge.

[5] Cf. i. 54 ; ii. 273, and Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. 257.

2. Absence of puns and plays on words.[1] See over-leaf [above].

3. Entire absence of comedy, etc., and why. See over-leaf.[a] [See also the description of Scotland's misery, IV. iii. 164-73.]

> *Ross.* [Alas, poor country !
> Almost afraid to know itself ! It cannot
> Be call'd our mother, but our grave : where nothing,
> But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile ;
> Where sighs and groans and shrieks that rend the air,
> Are made, not mark'd ; etc.]

4. For the same reason, no reasonings of equivocal morality, which would require a more leisurely state and consequent activity of mind ; and no sophistry of self-delusion, except only that previous to the dreadful act. Macbeth mistranslates the recoilings and ominous whispers of conscience into prudential and selfish reasonings, and after the deed, the terrors of remorse into fear from external dangers—like delirious men that run away from the phantoms of their own brain, or, raised by terror to rage, stab the real object that is within their own reach ; while Lady Macbeth merely endeavours to reconcile him and her own sinkings of heart by anticipation of the worst shapes [and] thoughts, and affected bravado in confronting them.

[V. v.] In all the rest, all is the grave utterance of the very heart, conscience-sick even to the last faintings of moral death.

> [V. iii. 11-19. Macbeth and the servant.
> The devil damn thee black, thou cream-faced loon !
> Where got'st thou that goose look ?
> *Serv.* There is ten thousand—
> *Macb.* Geese, villain ?
> *Serv.* Soldiers, sir.[b]]

[a] *MS.* ' *See overleaf.* 223 *Ross.*' *Again a page-reference to vol. vi., Rann's edition.*

[b] *MS.* ' 232-233, 236-37.' *Page-references to Rann's edition of Shakespeare, vol. vi.* Macbeth with the two messengers, V. iii. and V. v.

[1] Cf. i. 38, 78, and note.

And here notice *obiter*, rage from disruption of anxious thought, and the quick transition of fear to rage, and the vulgarity of all bad passions.

The same [fear and anxiety ?] in all the other characters. [See [a] V. ii. 16-22, the speech of] Angus.

> [Those he commands move only in command,
> Nothing in love, etc.]

In plays [1] addressed to the interest of all, as *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Othello*, Shakespeare begins with plebeian characters, and puns [?], but in *Macbeth*, the wounded soldier, an enthusiast in his profession.

Macbeth—the superstition natural to victorious generals. [See] Harte's *Gustavus Adolphus*, Preface.[2] The causes of it. So much of chance, such vast events connected. [The general is] a representative of the efforts of myriads, and yet to the public, and doubtless in his own feelings, the aggregate of all. Hope [is] the master element of a commanding genius, meeting with an active and combining intellect, and an imagination of just that degree of vividness which disquiets and impels the soul to try to realize its images. Greatly increase this creative power, and the images become a satisfying world of themselves ; *i.e.* we have the poet, or original philosopher ; but hope fully gratified, and yet the elementary basis of the passion remaining, becomes fear ; and indeed the general, who must often feel, even tho' he may hide it from his own consciousness, how great a share chance had in his successes, may very naturally become irresolute in a new scene, where *all* depends on his own act and election.

How judiciously [is Macbeth] introduced—inflated with success, in the inebriation of victory, heated by the struggle of combat and the turmoil of body and mind.

[a] *MS.* '231 *Angus.*' *Again a page-reference.*

[1] This fragment is from Egerton 2800, f. 37a.

[2] Walter Harte, *The History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.* London, 1759. Prefatory essay " On the Military State of Europe," pp. 34-38.

[Shakespeare seems] characterless, because characteristic. The poet lost in his portraits contrasted with the poet as a mere ventriloquist ;[1] wonderful union of both in Shakespeare.[2]

All done from terror and cowardice—but yet a cowardice compatible with the heroic character. The idea is that, he and the [son, Fleance ?] out of the way, the affliction of the terrible dreams will go.[3] Still mistaking conscience for prudence.

[*Timon of Athens.*]

[I. i. 131-34.

Tim. The man is honest.
Old Ath. Therefore he will be, Timon :
His honesty rewards him in itself ;
It must not bear my daughter.

Warburton's paraphrase : " If the man be honest, my Lord, for that reason he will be so in this ; and not endeavour at the injustice of gaining my daughter without my consent."]

Like* all Warburton's comments, ingenious in blunder—he can never see any other writer's thoughts for the mist-making swarm of his own. The meaning of the first line the poet himself explains, or rather unfolds, in the second. " The man is honest."—" True ! and for that very cause, and with no additional or extrinsic motive, he will be so. No man can be justly called honest, who is not so for honesty's sake, itself including its own reward." Mem. that " honesty " in Shakespeare's age retained much of its old dignity, and that contra-distinction of the *honestum* from the *utile* in which its very essence and definition consisted. If it be *honestum*, it cannot depend on the *utile*. S. T. C.

[1] Cf. ii. 162, 245, and *B.L.* ii. 109, for comments on Coleridge's use of this word.

[2] " Johnson, the Frog-Critic. How nimbly it leaps, how excellently it swims—only the fore-legs (it must be admitted) are too long and the hind ones too short." Coleridge's note, marked with large brackets as if for omission.

[3] Cf. i. 76 for a similar note on this passage (III. ii. 16-19).

[I. i. 249-50.

So, so, there !
Aches contract and starve your supple joints !

This speech of Apemantus was printed as prose in the Folios and in Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, as in all others before that of Capell.]

As* Morgan allows me thus to spoil his book, I will remark here the fineness of Shakespeare's sense of musical period, which would almost have of itself suggested (if the hundred positive proofs had not been extant) that the word " aches " was then a dissyllable—*aitches*. For read it " akes " in this sentence, and I would challenge you to find any period in Shakespeare's writings with the same musical, or rather dissonant, notation. Try the one and then the other, by your ear, reading the sentence aloud, first with " aches " as a dissyllable, and then as a monosyllable, and you will feel what I mean. N.B. This is not meant to palliate, much less justify, Kemble's insufferable coxcombry.

[I. ii. 120-21.

. . . . th' ear,
Taste, touch, and smell, pleased from thy table rise.

The accepted modern reading, which appears above, was suggested to Theobald by Warburton, correcting the Folio misprint, ' There taste, touch all '].

This* *is* an excellent emendation.

[II. i. 17-19. Following Rowe, Theobald reads,

nor then silenced with
Commend me to your master—and the cap
Plays in the right hand, thus :

Modern texts restore the reading of the first Folio, ' when ' for ' with.']

Either*, methinks, " plays " should be " play'd," or " and " should be changed to " while." I can certainly understand it as a parenthesis, an interadditive of scorn ; but it does not sound to my ear as in Shakespeare's manner.

[II. ii. 130-33.

Perchance some single vantages you took,
When my indisposition put you back;
And that unaptness made your minister,
Thus to excuse yourself.

Theobald follows the later Folios and reads 'you minister,' modern texts follow the first Folio, as above.]

[You]r* ? At least, I cannot otherwise understand the line. "[Perchance some single vantages] you took—and made my chance indisposition and occasional unaptness your minister"; *i.e.* the ground on which you now excuse yourself. Or perhaps no correction is necessary, if we construe "made you" as "did you make": "and that unaptness did you make help you thus to excuse yourself." But the former seems more in Shakespeare's manner, and is less liable to be misunderstood.

[III. iii. 31-33.

How fairly this lord strives to appear foul! takes virtuous copies to be wicked; *like those that under hot ardent zeal would set whole realms on fire.*]

This* [last clause] I grievously suspect to have been an addition of the players, which had *hit*, and being constantly applauded, procured a settled occupancy in the prompter's copy. Not that Shakespeare does not elsewhere sneer at the Puritans; but here it is introduced so *nolenter volenter*, by the head and shoulders—and is besides so much more likely to have been conceived in the age of Charles the First.

[IV. iii. 9.

Raise me this beggar and deny't that lord.

Warburton reads 'denude.']

I* cannot see the necessity of this alteration. The editors are all of them ready enough to cry out against Shakespeare's laxities and licences of style, forgetting that he is not merely a poet but a *dramatic* poet—that when the head and heart are swelling with fullness, a man does not ask himself whether he has grammatically *arranged*, but only whether

(context taken in) he has *conveyed*, his meaning. " Deny " is here clearly equal to " withhold " ; and the " it," quite in the genius of vehement conversation (which a syntaxist explains by ellipses and *subauditurs* in a Greek or Latin classic, yet triumphs over, as ignorance, in a contemporary), refers to accidental and artificial rank or elevation, implied in the verb " raise." S. T. C.

Does* the word " denude " occur in any writer before or of Shakespeare's age ? [1]

[*Antony and Cleopatra.*]

Shakespeare can be complimented only by comparison with himself : all other eulogies are either heterogeneous (*ex. gr.*, in relation to Milton, Spenser, etc.) or flat truisms

[1] The *New English Dictionary* cites instances from Lyndesay, *Monarche* (1552) ; Rolland, *Crt. Venus* (1560) ; *Satir. Poems Reform* (1570).

J. P. Collier quotes Coleridge at length in his Introduction to *Timon* in his 1842-44 edition of Shakespeare, vi. 501-02. " There is an apparent want of finish about some portions of ' Timon of Athens,' while others are elaborately wrought. In his Lectures in 1815, Coleridge dwelt upon this discordance of style at considerable length, but we find no trace of it in the published fragments of his Lectures in 1818. Coleridge said, in 1815, that he saw the same vigorous hand at work throughout, and gave no countenance to the notion, that any parts of a previously existing play had been retained in ' Timon of Athens,' as it had come down to us. It was Shakespeare's throughout ; and, as originally written, he apprehended that it was one of the author's most complete performances : the players, however, he felt convinced, had done the poet much injustice ; and he especially instanced (as indeed he did in 1818) the clumsy, ' claptrap ' blow at the Puritans in Act iii. sc. 3, as an interpolation by the actor of the part of Timon's servant. Coleridge accounted for the ruggedness and inequality of the versification upon the same principle, and he was persuaded that only a corrupt and imperfect copy had come to the hands of the player-editors of the folio of 1623. . . . His admiration of some parts of the tragedy was unbounded ; but he maintained that it was, on the whole, a painful and disagreeable production, because it gave only a disadvantageous picture of human nature, very inconsistent with what, he firmly believed, was our great poet's real view of the characters of his fellow-creatures. He said that the whole piece was a bitter dramatic satire,—a species of writing in which Shakespeare had shown, as in all other kinds, that he could reach the very highest point of excellence. Coleridge could not help suspecting that the subject might have been taken up under some temporary feeling of vexation and disappointment."

It may be worth while to point out that, so far as is known, no course of lectures was given by Coleridge in 1815.

(*ex. gr.*, to prefer him to Racine, Corneille, or even his own immediate successors, Fletcher, Massinger, etc.). The highest praise or rather form of praise, of this play which I can offer in my own mind, is the doubt which its perusal always occasions in me, whether it is not in all exhibitions of a giant power in its strength and vigor of maturity, a formidable rival of the *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Othello*, and *Hamlet*. *Feliciter audax* is the motto for its style comparatively with his other works, even as it is the general motto of all his works compared with those of other poets. Be it remembered too, that this happy valiancy of style is but the representative and result of all the material excellencies so exprest.

This play should be perused in mental contrast with Romeo and Juliet;[1]—as the love of passion and appetite opposed to the love of affection and instinct. But the art displayed in the character of Cleopatra is profound [2] in this, especially, that the sense of criminality in her passion is lessened by our insight into its depth and energy, at the very moment that we cannot but perceive that the passion itself springs out of the habitual craving of a licentious nature, and that it is supported and reinforced by voluntary stimulus and sought-for associations, instead of blossoming out of spontaneous emotion.

But of all perhaps of Shakespeare's plays the most wonderful is the *Antony and Cleopatra*. [There are] scarcely any in which he has followed history more minutely, and yet few even of his own in which he impresses the notion of giant strength so much, perhaps none in which he impresses it more strongly. This [is] owing to the manner in which it is sustained throughout—that he *lives* in and through the play—to the numerous momentary flashes of nature counteracting the historic abstraction, in which take as a specimen the [death of Cleopatra [a]].

[a] *MS.* ' 801 *ad finem.*'

[1] Coleridge perhaps used this contrast of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra* in the lecture of February 18, 1819. (Cf. ii. 319.)

[2] I have omitted a semi-colon after ' profound.' This entire paragraph is reprinted without other change from *L.R.*

[I. i. 6-8.

. . . . his captain's heart,
Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst
The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper.]

[" Reneges " *] should be spelt " reneagues," [1] or " renigues," as " leagues " from *ligare*, [or as] " fatigues," etc. Or " reniegues."

[I. i. 11-13.

Take but good note, and you shall see in him
The triple pillar of the world transform'd
Into a strumpet's fool.

Warburton suggests ' stool ' for ' fool.']

This* is an ingenious conjecture, and would be a probable reading, if the scene opening had discovered Antony with Cleopatra on his lap. But entering as they do, and Antony flattering and jesting with her, " fool " must be the word. Warburton's objection is shallow, and implies that he confounded the dramatic with the epic style. The pillar of a state is so common a metaphor as to have lost the image in the thing meant.

[I. ii. 186-88.

Much is breeding,
Which, like the courser's hair, hath yet but life
And not a serpent's poison.]

This* is, however, so far true that a horse-hair thus treated [2] will become the supporter of apparently one worm, tho' probably of an immense number of small slimy water-lice. The hair will twirl round a finger and sensibly compress it. It is a common experiment with the schoolboys in Cumberland and Westmorland.

[1] The ' g ' is hard, as is indicated by the ' gu ' in Coleridge's spelling. The spellings ' renigues ' and ' reniegues ' are not recorded in the *New English Dictionary*, but they are possible spellings, on the basis of the analogies which Coleridge himself cites.

[2] Soaked in swamp water, according to a passage cited by Theobald from Holinshed.

[II. ii. 124-26. Theobald's reading :

Caes. Say not so, Agrippa :
If Cleopatra heard you, your approof
Were well deserved of rashness.

' Approof ' is Theobald's emendation of the folio reading ' proof ' ; the Cambridge editors, etc., read ' reproof,' following Warburton's emendation in Hanmer's text.]

It* seems plain that " approof " is either " reproof," or else " the treatment that would follow your reception from her would be more than your rashness merited."

[II. ii. 210-13.

Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings : at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers :]

" Some* as sea-graces " ? or " So many graces ? "

I* strongly suspect that Shakespeare wrote either " sea-queens," or rather " sea-brides." He never, I think, would have so weakened by useless anticipation the fine image immediately following—

. . . . at the helm
A seeming mermaid—

The epithet " seeming " becomes so extremely improper, after the whole number had been positively called so.

" Submarine* graces " ?

[III. ii. 27-33.

Caes. . . . . Most noble Antony,
Let not the piece of virtue which is set
Betwixt us as the cement of our love,
To keep it builded, be the ram to batter
The fortress of it ; for better might we
Have loved without this mean, if on both parts
This be not cherish'd.]

[' *Cement.*' *] " Cross-beam " ? or " crossment " ? [' *For better.*'] " Else far " ? or " for far " ?

I* conjecture that the whole passage is somehow or other corrupted. I suspect both " cement " and " builded." At least I recollect no instance in Shakespeare of such an unrepresentable eye-image—a *piece* [1] of—*set* betwixt—as *cement*—turned to a *battering-ram*. Let not that which is the mortar of the wall, be turned to a ram ! Both the image and Shakespeare's manner require a beam, or buttress-tree, or slant-column.

[*Coriolanus*.]

The wonderful philosophic impartiality in Shakespeare's politics. His own country's history had furnished him with no *matter* but what was too recent, and he [was] devoted to *patriotism*. Besides, the dispassionate instruction of ancient history. This most remarkable in *Julius Caesar*. In all this good-humored laugh at mobs,[2] collate with Sir Thomas Browne.

[I. i. 177-79.

He that depends
Upon your favours swims with fins of lead
And hews down oaks with rushes. Hang ye ! Trust ye ?]

I suspect that Shakespeare wrote it transposed :

" Trust ye ? Hang ye." [3]

[I. x. 12-24.

Auf. . . . . mine emulation
Hath not that honour in't it had ; for where
I thought to crush him in an equal force,
True sword to sword, I'll potch at him some way,
Or wrath or craft may get him. . . .
. . . . . My valour's poison'd
With only suffering stain by him ; for him

[1] ' Piece ' here means ' woman.' See *New English Dictionary* (' piece,' 9b) for analogies.

[2] Coleridge seems to be indebted to Schlegel for this observation, *Werke*, vi. 264. Cf. i. 136, 233, for Coleridge's repetitions of the remark.

[3] This note is reprinted from *L.R.* I have corrected the spelling of ' Hange ' to ' Hang ' and given the reference according to the forms used in the present edition.

Shall fly out of itself : nor sleep nor sanctuary,
Being naked, sick, nor fane nor Capitol,
The prayers of priests nor times of sacrifice,
Embarquements all of fury, shall lift up
Their rotten privilege and custom 'gainst
My hate to Marcius.]

I* have such deep faith in Shakespeare's heart-lore (*Herzlehre*) that I take for granted, this is in nature, and not as a mere anomaly, altho' I cannot in myself discover any germ of possible feeling which could wax and unfold itself into such sentiment. S. T. C. [Theobald edition.]

Look at [the speech of Aufidius,[a] Act I, Scene x] for a fine prevention of a shock in Aufidius's character. [Stockdale edition.]

[II. i. 109-10.
. . . the most sovereign prescription in Galen is but empiricutic.]

An old question : was it without, or in contempt of, historical information that Shakespeare made the contemporaries of Coriolanus quote Cato and Galen ? What the blunder of the press [1] after " empiric " stands for, I cannot recollect.

[II. i. 156.
In honour follows Coriolanus.]

" [Follow]eth."

[II. iii. 112. Theobald's reading,[2] after $F_2F_3F_4$.
Why in this woolvish gown should I stand here. . . . ?]

That* the gown of the candidate was of whitened wool, we know ; and it is natural for Coriolanus to call it a " woolwash'd " gown ; but why " wolfish " ? and if it means not this, what does " woolvish " mean ?

[a] *MS.* ' 711.'

[1] Stockdale edition, *empyric qutique*, F_1F_2 *Emperickqutique*. ' *Empiricutic* ' is coined on the analogy of ' pharmaceutic ' and means ' empiric.'

[2] *Wooluish tongue* F_1 ; *woolvish toge*, Steevens conjecture, adopted by Malone, Cambridge editors, etc.

[IV. vii. 28-57. The speech of Aufidius.
All places yield to him ere he sits down ; etc.]

I* have always thought this in itself so beautiful speech the least explicable from the mood and full intention of the speaker of any in the whole works of Shakespeare. I cherish the hope that I am mistaken and, becoming wiser, shall discover some profound excellence in what I now appear to myself to detect an imperfection. S. T. C.

NOTES ON THE COMEDIES OF SHAKESPEARE

[*Love's Labor's Lost.*]

According to internal evidence [this is] the earliest of Shakespeare's dramas, probably prior to the *Venus and Adonis*, and sketched out before he left Stratford. [The] characters [are] either impersonated out of his own multiformity, by imaginative self-position, or of such as a country town and a school-boy's observation might supply—the curate, schoolmaster, the Armado (which even in my time was not extinct in the cheaper inns of North Wales). [Note] the satire too on follies of *words*. Add too that the characters of Biron and Rosaline are evidently the pre-existent state of his Beatrice and Benedict. Add too the number of the rhymes, and the sweetness as well as smoothness of the metre, and the number of acute and fancifully illustrated aphorisms. Just as it ought to be. True genius begins by generalizing and condensing ; it ends in realizing and expanding. It first collects the seeds.

Yet if this juvenile drama had been the only one extant of our Shakespeare, and we possessed the tradition only of his riper works, or [accounts] from writers who had not even mentioned the *Love's Labor's Lost*, how many of Shakespeare's characteristic features might we not discover, tho' as in a portrait taken of him in his boyhood.

4. *Love's Labor's Lost.*

The [1] germs of characters afterwards more fully developed. His Costard the ground-work of his Tapster in *Measure for*

[1] The three succeeding paragraphs come not from the marginalia, but from Additional 34, 225, f. 49a. The watermark, 1817, dates this fragment as intended for the lectures of 1818. The numeral ' 4 ' before

Measure, and Dull his Dogberry ; Biron, of Benedict in the *Much Ado About Nothing*, and of Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*. Both pre-existent in [Act III. Scene i].[a]

His unceasing war against pedantry in Holofernes, Polonius.[1]. . . Costard's " remuneration " [Act III.[b] Scene i] and the ridicule of antithetic writing which is by no means superannuated [Act[c] V., the beginning of Scene i.].

The exquisite beauty of his blank verse in his very earliest works, while yet the tendency to rhyme was strong. Causes of his blank verse and importance of which [?] as criteria of his plays.

I [2] can never sufficiently admire the wonderful activity of thought throughout the whole of the first scene of the play, rendered natural, as it is, by the choice of the characters, and the whimsical determination on which the drama is founded. A whimsical determination certainly ;—yet not altogether so very improbable to those who are conversant in the history of the middle ages, with their Courts of Love, and all that lighter drapery of chivalry, which engaged even mighty kings with a sort of serio-comic interest, and may well be supposed to have occupied more completely the smaller princes, at a time when the noble's or prince's court contained the only theatre of the domain or principality. This sort of story, too, was admirably suited to Shakspeare's times, when the English court was still the foster-mother of the state and the muses ; and when, in consequence, the courtiers, and men of rank and fashion, affected a display of

the title of the play refers, I think, to the fourth lecture of the course, which dealt with Shakespeare's comedies and would include this play. The paragraphs are numbered from ' 2 ' to ' 4,' No. 1 being missing.

[a] *MS.* ' *p.* 156.' *Page-reference, Stockdale edition.*

[b] *MS.* ' 156.' *Again a page-reference.* [c] *MS.* ' *p.* 164.'

[1] The omitted passage is almost illegible. As far as I can make it out, it runs as follows : " as [?] far the puns [?] of words were concerned [?]." I have omitted several lines of memoranda (not criticism) at the end of this fragment, but I have preserved (cf. i. 99, 131) some brief comments on *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Tempest*.

[2] At this point begins a separate fragment reprinted from *L.R.* It continues to the end of these notes, except for two marginal comments on Act V. Scene ii. (cf. i. 98-99).

wit, point, and sententious observation, that would be deemed intolerable at present,—but in which a hundred years of controversy, involving every great political, and every dear domestic, interest, had trained all but the lowest classes to participate. Add to this the very style of the sermons of the time, and the eagerness of the Protestants to distinguish themselves by long and frequent preaching, and it will be found that, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the abdication of James II. no country ever received such a national education as England.

Hence the comic matter chosen in the first instance is a ridiculous imitation or apery of this constant striving after logical precision, and subtle opposition of thoughts, together with a making the most of every conception or image, by expressing it under the least expected property belonging to it, and this, again, rendered specially absurd by being applied to the most current subjects and occurrences. The phrases and modes of combination in argument were caught by the most ignorant from the custom of the age, and their ridiculous misapplication of them is most amusingly exhibited in Costard ; whilst examples suited only to the gravest propositions and impersonations, or apostrophes to abstract thoughts impersonated, which are in fact the natural language only of the most vehement agitations of the mind, are adopted by the coxcombry of Armado as mere artifices of ornament.

The same kind of intellectual action is exhibited in a more serious and elevated strain in many other parts of this play. Biron's speech at the end of the fourth act is an excellent specimen of it. It is logic clothed in rhetoric ;—but observe how Shakspeare, in his two-fold being of poet and philosopher, avails himself of it to convey profound truths in the most lively images,—the whole remaining faithful to the character supposed to utter the lines, and the expressions themselves constituting a further development of that character :—

> Other slow arts entirely keep the brain :
> And therefore finding barren practisers,
> Scarce shew a harvest of their heavy toil :

But love, first learned in a lady's eyes,
Lives not alone immured in the brain ;
But, with the motion of all elements,
Courses as swift as thought in every power ;
And gives to every power a double power,
Above their functions and their offices.
It adds a precious seeing to the eye,
A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind ;
A lover's ear will hear the lowest sound,
When the suspicious tread [a] of theft is stopp'd :
Love's feeling is more soft and sensible,
Than are the tender horns of cockled snails ;
Love's tongue proves dainty Bacchus gross in taste ;
For valour, is not love a Hercules,
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides ?
Subtle as Sphinx ; as sweet and musical
As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair ;
And when love speaks, the voice of all the gods
Makes [b] heaven drowsy with the harmony.
Never durst poet touch a pen to write,
Until his ink were temper'd with love's sighs ;
O, then his lines would ravish savage ears,
And plant in tyrants mild humility.
From women's eyes this doctrine I derive :
They sparkle still the right Promethean fire ;
They are the books, the arts, the academes,
That shew, contain, and nourish all the world ;
Else, none at all in aught proves excellent ;
Then fools you were these women to forswear ;
Or, keeping what is sworn, you will prove fools.
For wisdom's sake, a word that all men love ;
Or for love's sake, a word that loves all men ;
Or for men's sake, the authors of these women ;
Or women's sake, by whom we men are men ;
Let us once lose our oaths, to find ourselves,
Or else we lose ourselves to keep our oaths :
It is religion, to be thus forsworn :
For charity itself fulfils the law :
And who can sever love from charity ?

[IV. iii. 320-61.]

This is quite a study ;—sometimes you see this youthful god of poetry connecting disparate thoughts purely by means of

[a] *Read* '*head*.' [b] *Read* '*make*.'

resemblances in the words expressing them,—a thing in character in lighter comedy, especially of that kind in which Shakspeare delights, namely, the purposed display of wit, though sometimes, too, disfiguring his graver scenes ;—but more often you may see him doubling the natural connection or order of logical consequence in the thoughts by the introduction of an artificial and sought for resemblance in the words, as, for instance, in the third line of the play,—

And then grace us in the disgrace of death ;—

this being a figure often having its force and propriety, as justified by the law of passion, which, inducing in the mind an unusual activity, seeks for means to waste its superfluity, —when in the highest degree—in lyric repetitions and sublime tautology—(*at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down ; at her feet he bowed, he fell ; where he bowed, there he fell down dead* [1]),—and, in lower degrees, in making the words themselves the subjects and materials of that surplus action, and for the same cause that agitates our limbs, and forces our very gestures into a tempest in states of high excitement.

The mere style of narration in Love's Labour's Lost, like that of Aegeon in the first scene of the Comedy of Errors, and of the Captain in the second scene of Macbeth, seems imitated with its defects and its beauties from Sir Philip Sidney ; whose Arcadia, though not then published, was already well known in manuscript copies, and could hardly have escaped the notice and admiration of Shakspeare as the friend and client of the Earl of Southampton. The chief defect consists in the parentheses and parenthetic thoughts and descriptions, suited neither to the passion of the speaker, nor the purpose of the person to whom the information is to be given, but manifestly betraying the author himself,—not by way of continuous undersong, but —palpably, and so as to show themselves addressed to the general reader. However, it is not unimportant to notice

[1] Deborah's song was a favourite illustration in Coleridge's criticism. See i. 218 ; ii. 136, *B.L.* ii. 43. Cf. also Wordsworth's original prefatory note to *The Thorn*.

how strong a presumption the diction and allusions of this play afford, that, though Shakspeare's acquirements in the dead languages might not be such as we suppose in a learned education, his habits had, nevertheless, been scholastic, and those of a student. For a young author's first work almost always bespeaks his recent pursuits, and his first observations of life are either drawn from the immediate employments of his youth, and from the characters and images most deeply impressed on his mind in the situations in which those employments had placed him ;—or else they are fixed on such objects and occurrences in the world, as are easily connected with, and seem to bear upon, his studies and the hitherto exclusive subjects of his meditation. Just as Ben Jonson, who applied himself to the drama after having served in Flanders, fills his earliest plays with true or pretended soldiers, the wrongs and neglects of the former, and the absurd boasts and knavery of their counterfeits. So Lessing's first comedies are placed in the universities, and consist of events and characters conceivable in an academic life.

I will only further remark the sweet and tempered gravity, with which Shakspeare in the end draws the only fitting moral which such a drama afforded. Here Rosaline rises up to the full height of Beatrice :—

Ros. Oft have I heard of you, my lord Biron,
Before I saw you, and the world's large tongue
Proclaims you for a man replete with mocks ;
Full of comparisons, and wounding flouts,
Which you on all estates will execute
That lie within the mercy of your wit :
To weed this wormwood from your fruitful brain,
And therewithal, to win me, if you please,
(Without the which I am not to be won,)
You shall this twelvemonth term from day to day
Visit the speechless sick, and still converse
With groaning wretches ; and your talk [a] shall be,
With all the fierce endeavour of your wit,
To enforce the pained impotent to smile.

[a] *Read* ' *task.*'

Biron. To move wild laughter in the throat of death ?
It cannot be ; it is impossible ;
Mirth cannot move a soul in agony.
Ros. Why, that's the way to choke a gibing spirit,
Whose influence is begot of that loose grace,
Which shallow laughing hearers give to fools :
A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
Of him that hears it, never in the tongue
Of him that makes it ; then, if sickly ears,
Deaf'd with the clamors of their own dear groans,
Will hear your idle scorns, continue then,
And I will have you, and that fault withal ;
But, if they will not, throw away that spirit,
And I shall find you empty of that fault,
Right joyful of your reformation.

[V.[1] ii. 750-51. Ff Qq.

Form'd by the eye, and therefore, like the eye,
Full of straying shapes, of habits and of forms.

The Cambridge editors read ' strange shapes,' after Capell.]

Either* [read] " stray " ; or " full " [should be] thrown back to the preceding line—

the eye, full
Of straying shapes . . .

I prefer the former.

[V. ii. 805-10.

Biron. And what to me, my love ? and what to me ?
Ros. You must be purged too, your sins are rack'd,
You are attaint with faults and perjury :
Therefore if you my favour mean to get,
A twelvemonth shall you spend, and never rest,
But seek the weary beds of people sick.

Following the suggestion of Thirlby and Warburton, Theobald brackets these lines as an earlier draft or a later abridgment of Rosaline's next speech.]

[1] This note and that which follows are from the marginalia in the Theobald Shakespeare.

There* can be no doubt respecting the last five lines. They spoil the very page that retains them ; but the first line is quite in Biron's character ; and Rosaline [a] not answering, Dumain takes up the question for himself, and after he and Longaville are answered, then Biron, with evident propriety, says, " Studies my lady ? "

[*Two Gentlemen of Verona.*]

Likeness of Launce to Launcelot in *Merchant of Venice*, and wit passing into humor [1] [in [b] the dialogue of Speed and Launce at the end of Act III. sc. i].

[*Comedy of Errors.*]

The myriad-minded man, our, and all men's, Shakspeare, has in this piece presented us with a legitimate farce in exactest consonance with the philosophical principles and character of farce, as distinguished from comedy and from entertainments. A proper farce is mainly distinguished from comedy by the license allowed, and even required, in the fable, in order to produce strange and laughable situations. The story need not be probable, it is enough that it is possible. A comedy would scarcely allow even the two Antipholuses ; because, although there have been instances of almost indistinguishable likeness in two persons, yet these are mere individual accidents, *casus ludentis naturae*, and the *verum* will not excuse the *inverisimile*. But farce dares add the two Dromios, and is justified in so doing by the laws of its end and constitution. In a word, farces commence in a postulate, which must be granted.[2]

[a] *MS.* ' *Rosamund.*'

[b] *MS.* ' *p.* 36 ' [*Stockdale edition*].

[1] This comment comes from some miscellaneous jottings on Additional 34, 225, f. 50a.

[2] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.*

[*Midsummer Night's Dream.*]

[I. i. 136-40.

Her. O cross! Too high to be enthrall'd to low.
Lys. Or else misgraffed in respect of years,—
Her. O spite! too old to be engaged to young.
Lys. Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,—
Her. O heli! to choose love by another's eyes.]

It* would be a great improvement if these two [italicized] lines were omitted. The third "O Hell!" would then become a beauty, and most natural.

[I. i. 246. Helena betrays Hermia to Demetrius :

I will go tell him of fair Hermia's flight.]

I* am convinced that Shakespeare availed himself of the title of the play in his own mind [as] a *dream* throughout, but especially (and perhaps unpleasingly) in this broad determination of ungrateful treachery in Helena, so undisguisedly avowed to herself, and this too after the witty cool philosophizing that precedes. The act is very natural ; the resolve so to act is, I fear, likewise too true a picture of the lax hold that principles have on the female heart, when opposed to, or even separated from, passion and inclination.[1] For women are less hypocrites to their own minds than men, because they feel less abhorrence of moral evil in itself and more for its outward consequences, as detection, loss of character, etc., their natures being almost wholly extroitive. But still, however just, the representation is not poetical ; we shrink from it and cannot harmonize it with the ideal.

[II. i. 3, 5. Theobald adopts the reading 'through' (Q_2Ff) in preference to 'thorough' (Q_1).

Through bush, through briar,

. . . . .

Through flood, through fire.]

[1] Mr. A. C. Dunstan has pointed out that this bold generalization regarding women may be found also in Kant's essay "On the Beautiful and the Sublime." There it is a corollary of the thesis that the ideal of the male sex is the sublime ; of the female, the beautiful. It originates, therefore, in a more complimentary psychology than that offered by Coleridge in the next sentence.

What* a noble pair of ears this worthy Theobald must have had! The eight amphimacers,

Over hill, over dale,
Thoro' bush, thoro' briar,
Over park, over pale,
Thoro' flood, thoro' fire,

have so delightful an effect on the ear! and then the sweet transition to the trochaic—

I do wander ev'ry where—

for " where " itself, as a rhyme, is almost a trochee.[1]

[II. i. 130-31.

Which she, with pretty and with swimming gait
Following,—her womb then rich with my young squire.

Theobald accepts Warburton's conjecture, ' follying.']

Oh! *Oh! Oh!* Lord have mercy on poor Shakespeare! and on Mr. Warburton's mind's eye!

[V. i. 91-92. Theobald alters the speech of Theseus[2] as follows:

And what poor [willing] duty cannot do
Noble respect takes it in might, not merit.]

To* my ears it would read far more Shakespearian thus:

And what poor duty cannot do, yet would,
Noble respect takes it, etc.

or

cannot do, tho' fain.

[1] At this point H.N.C. interpolates a note on English metre which may, in the present edition, be found on i. 252-53.

[2] Cambridge text:

And what poor duty cannot do, noble respect
Takes it in might, not merit.

[V. i. 360-89.

Puck. Now the hungry lion roars,
And the wolf behowls the moon ;
Whilst the heavy ploughman snores,
All with weary task fordone, etc.]

Anacreon* in the *perfectness* of the lines—proportion, grace, spontaneity ! So far it is Greek. But then add to it, O what wealth, what wild luxuriance, and yet what compression and condensation of English fancy. There is nothing in Anacreon *more perfect* than these thirty lines, or *half so* rich and imaginative ; a diamond speckless !

[*Taming of the Shrew.*]

[I. i.] The* first and second page [Lucentio and Tranio alone] read (to my ear) very unlike Shakespeare.

[*The Merry Wives of Windsor.*]

[I. i. 13-20.

Slen. . . . . they may give the dozen white luces in their coat ! [1]

Shal. It is an old coat.

Evans. The dozen white louses do become an old coat well . . .

Shal. The luce is the fresh fish ; the salt fish is an old coat.]

" An* old coat " ; i.e., an old cod, salt fish, or baccalao, being chiefly cod. This remark Shakespeare owes to Mary Morgan.[2]

Probably,* thus—

Shallow. The luce is the fresh fish, the salt fish—is an old cod,

(Shallow mistaking Evans's pronunciation of " coat " for " cod "). [Theobald edition.]

I do not understand this ; but I suspect a double corruption, first, in the words, " the salt fish," and second, in the

[1] Shallow is perhaps a caricature of Sir Thomas Lucy, whose heraldic shield bore three *luces* hauriant argent. A luce is a pike.

[2] Mrs. J. J. Morgan, whose husband owned the book in which this comment was inscribed.

speaker, who should, I suspect, be Sir H. Evans. . . . I[1] suspect that the passage should be thus restored :

Shallow. The luce is the fresh fish, the salt fish—
Sir H. Evans. — is an old cot (or coat)

i.e. an old cod, Cambricè, " cot " or " coat." As it now stands, the passage has no sense at all. [Stockdale edition.]

[I. iii. 49-52.

Fal. Now, the report goes she has all the rule of her husband's purse : he hath a legion of angels.
Pist. As many devils *entertain* ; and ' To her, boy,' say I.]

Query ? " As many devils enter swine (or enter'd swine) and ' to her, boy ' say I "—a somewhat profane but not un-Shakespearian allusion to the " we are legion " in Luke's Gospel.[2]

[*As You Like It.*]

[I. i. 47-50.

Oli. What, boy !
Orl. Come, come, elder brother, you are too young in this.
Oli. Wilt thou lay hands on me, villain ?]

There* is a beauty here. The word " boy " naturally provokes and awakens in Orlando the sense of his manly powers : and with the retort, " elder brother," he grasps him with firm hands, and makes him feel that he is no *boy*.

[I. i. 145-54.

Oli. Farewell, good Charles. . . . Now will I stir this gamester : I hope I shall see an end of him ; for my soul, yet I know not why, hates nothing more than he. Yet he's gentle ; never schooled, and yet learned ; full of noble device ; of all sorts enchantingly beloved ; and indeed so much in the heart of the world, and especially of my own people, who best know him, that I am altogether misprized : but it shall not be so long ; this wrestler shall clear all : nothing remains but that I kindle the boy thither ; which now I'll go about.]

[1] I omit here Coleridge's quotation of his reference : " The salt fish is an old coat."

[2] Luke viii. 30. " And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name ? and he said, Legion : because many devils were entered into him."

This* has always *appeared* to me one of the most un-Shakespearian speeches in all (the genuine works of) Shakespeare. Yet I shall be nothing surprized, and greatly pleased, to find it hereafter a fresh beauty, as has so often happened with me with the supposed defects of the [great.[1] Theobald edition.]

It is too venturous to charge a speech in Shakespeare with want of truth to nature. And yet at first sight this speech of Oliver's *expresses* truths which it almost seems impossible that any mind should so distinctly and so livelily have voluntarily presented to itself in connection with feelings and intentions so malignant and so contrary to those which the qualities expressed would naturally have called forth. But I dare not say that this *unnaturalness* is not in the nature of an abused *wilfulness* when united with a strong intellect. In such characters there is sometimes a gloomy self-gratification in making the *absoluteness* of the will (*sit pro ratione voluntas !*) evident to themselves by setting the reason and conscience in full array against it. [Stockdale edition.]

[I. ii. 156-59. Celia attempts to dissuade Orlando from wrestling with Charles :

> . . . You have seen cruel proof of this man's strength : if you saw yourself with *your* eyes, or knew yourself with *your* judgement, the fear of your adventure would counsel you to a more equal enterprise.]

Our* [2] ?

[I. ii. 222-24.

> If you do keep your promises in love
> But justly, as you have exceeded *all* promise,
> Your mistress shall be happy.]

The word " all " is beyond doubt an interpolation. It not only destroys the metre but it changes and deforms the sense.

[1] There are faint traces in pencil of two undecipherable Greek words. The first seems to be ' Ἀνήρ ' (man) ; the second is quite hopeless.

[2] The reading of Hanmer and Warburton.

If you do keep your promises in *love*
But justly as you have exceeded *promise*,

The adjunct " all " is senseless.[1]

[I. iii. 10-12.

Cel. But is all this for your father ?
Ros. No, some of it is for *my child's father*.

Theobald restored the original text, which had been altered by Rowe to ' my father's child.']

This* is putting a very indelicate anticipation in the mouth of Rosalind, without reason ; not to speak of the strangeness of the phrase.

[II. v. 50.

Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame.]

Ducadme*,[2] *i.e.* Bring him to me.

[IV. ii. 13-14.

Take thou no scorn to wear the horn ;
It was a crest ere thou wast born :]

I* question whether there exists a parallel instance of a phrase that like this of " horns " for cuckoldism is universal in all languages, yet for which no one has yet discovered even a plausible origin.

[*Twelfth Night*.]

[I. i. 14-15.

. . . . so full of shapes is fancy
That it alone is high fantastical.

Warburton conjectured ' in fancy.']

Fancy* may well be interpreted " exclusive affection " or " passionate preference " ; thus, bird-fanciers, gentlemen of the fancy, *i.e.* amateurs of boxing, etc. Warburton's alteration is needless : the [a] play of assimilation, the meaning one sense chiefly, and yet keeping both senses in view, is perfectly Shakespearian.

[a] *MS.* ' *needless : which the.*'

[1] Capell's reading.

[2] The reading of Hanmer.

[II. iii. 20-24.

In sooth, thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spokest of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians passing the equinoctial of Queubus : . . . I sent thee sixpence for thy leman : hadst it ?]

A* note explanatory on " Pigrogromitus," etc., would have been more acceptable [than Theobald's alteration of " lemon " to " leman "].

[II. iii. 56-58.

. . . . shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch that will draw three souls out of one weaver ?

Warburton explains the three souls by means of the peripatetic philosophy.]

O* genuine, inimitable (at least I hope so) Warburton ! One in five millions would be half a one too much. S.T.C.

[II. iv. 21-24.

Duke. Thou dost speak masterly :
My life upon't, young though thou art, thine eye
Hath stay'd upon some favour that it loves :
Hath it not, boy ?
Vio. A little, by your favour.]

And* yet Viola was to be presented to Orsino as a eunuch. Either she forgot this, or Viola had altered her plan.[1]

[1] In J. P. Collier's Introduction to this play, in his edition of Shakespeare published in 1842-44 (iii. 323), there is quoted another significant comment by Coleridge, which may well be included here : " It was an opinion, confidently stated by Coleridge in his lectures in 1818, that the passage in Act II. Sc. 4, beginning

> ' Too old, by heaven : let still the woman take
> An elder than herself,' &c.,

had a direct application to the circumstances of his own marriage with Anne Hathaway, who was so much senior to the poet. . . . Coleridge took the opportunity of enlarging eloquently on the manner in which young poets have frequently connected themselves with women of very ordinary personal and mental attractions, the imagination supplying all deficiencies, clothing the object of affection with grace and beauty, and furnishing her with every accomplishment."

[II. iv. 109-11.

Vio. A blank, my lord. She never told her love,
But let concealment, like a worm i' the bud,
Feed on her damask cheek.]

After* the first line (of which the last five words should be spoken with, and drop down in, a deep sigh) the speaker should make a pause and then start afresh, from the activity of thought born of suppressed feelings, which thoughts had accumulated during the brief interval, as vital heat under the skin during a dip in cold water.

[II. v. 59-60.

Fab. Though our silence be drawn from us with cars, yet peace.

Theobald reads ' cares,' following the second folio.]
" Cares* ? " Perhaps " cables."

[III. i. 10-11.

A sentence
is but a cheveril glove to a good wit.]

Theobald's* etymology [of " cheveril "] is doubtless right, but he is mistaken in supposing that there are no such things as gloves of chicken-skin. They were at one time a main article in chirocosmetic.

[V. i. 18-20.

. . . . so that, conclusions to be as kisses, if your four negatives make your two affirmatives, why then, the worse for my friends, and the better for my foes.

Warburton reads ' the conclusion to be asked is.']
Surely,* Warburton could never have wooed by kisses and won, or he would not have flounder-flatted so just and humorous an image, nor less pleasing than humorous, into so profound a nihility ! In the name of love and wonder, do not four kisses make a double affirmative ? The humor lies in the whispered " No," the inviting " Don't," with which the maiden's kisses are accompanied, and thence compared to negatives, which by repetition constitute an affirmative.

[*Troilus and Cressida.*]

[Note in Stockdale's edition, page 857 :

Mr. Pope (after Dryden) informs us, that the story of Troilus and Cressida was originally the work of one Lollius, a Lombard : but Dryden goes yet further ; he declares it to have been written in Latin verse, and that Chaucer translated it.—Lollius was a historiographer of Urbino in Italy.[1] —Shakespeare received the greatest part of his materials for the structure of this play from the *Troy Boke* of Lydgate, printed in 1513.]

" Lollius was an historiographer of Urbino in Italy." So affirms the *notary* to whom the Sieur Stockdale committed the *disfacimento* [a] of Ayscough's excellent edition of Shakespeare : which or in defect of the first an unaltered reprint of the same suffer not to pass by you, tho' at double the price. Lollius an historiographer of Italy ! ! Pity that the researchful notary had not either told us in what century and of what history he was the O'Grapher, or been content to depone that Lollius, if a writer of that name existed at all, was a somewhat somewhere. I have never seen Lydgate's *Troy Boke*, printed 1513, but deeply regret, that Mr. A. Chalmers had not substituted the whole of Lydgate's works from the MSS. extant, for the almost worthless Gower.

The *Troilus and Cressida* of Shakespeare can scarcely be classed with his Greek and Roman *history* dramas ; but it forms an intermediate link between the fictitious Greek and Roman histories, which we may call legendary dramas, and the proper ancient histories ; *ex. gr.*, between the *Pericles* or *Titus Andronicus* and the *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, etc. *Cymbeline* is congener with *Pericles*—distinguished from *Lear* by not having any declared prominent object. But where shall we class the *Timon of Athens* ? Immediately below *Lear*. It is a *Lear* of the satirical drama, a *Lear* of

[a] *MS.* ' *disfacciamento.*'

[1] The tangle of learned errors regarding " Lollius " is discussed authoritatively in Professor G. L. Kittredge's study of " Chaucer's Lollius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxviii. 47-133.

domestic or ordinary life—a local eddy of passion on the high road of society, while all around are [a] the week-day goings on of wind and weather—a *Lear*, therefore, without its soul-scorching flashes, its ear-cleaving thunder-claps, its meteoric splendors, without the contagion and fearful sympathies of nature, the Fates, the Furies, the frenzied elements dancing [b] in and out, now breaking thro' and scattering, now hand in hand with, the fierce or fantastic group of human passions, crimes, and anguishes, reeling on the unsteady ground in a wild harmony to the swell and sink of the earthquake.—But my present subject was *Troilus and Cressida* ; and I suppose that, scarcely knowing what to say of it, I by a cunning of instinct ran off to subjects on which I should find it difficult not to say too much, tho' certain after all I should still leave the better part unsaid, and the gleaning for others richer than my own harvest. Indeed, there is none of Shakespeare's plays harder to characterize. The name and the remembrances connected with it prepare us for the representation of attachment no less faithful than fervent on the side of the youth, and of sudden and shameless inconstancy on the part of the lady. And this, indeed, is the gold thread on which the scenes are strung, tho' often kept out of sight and out of mind by gems of greater value than itself. But as Shakespeare calls forth nothing from the mausoleum of history or the catacombs of tradition without giving or eliciting some permanent and general interest, brings forward no subject which he does not moralize or intellectualize, so here he has drawn in Cressida the portrait of a vehement *passion* that, having its true origin and proper cause in warmth of temperament, fastens on, rather than fixes to, some one object by liking and temporary preference :

> [Fie, fie upon her !
> There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
> Nay, her foot speaks ; her wanton spirits look out
> At every joint and motive of her body.[c]]

This he has contrasted with the profound affection

[a] *MS.* '*is*.' [b] *MS.* '*dance*.'

[c] IV. *v.* 54-57. *Ms.* " 881, 40, *β*.'

represented in Troilus, and alone worthy the name of love ;[1] affection, passionate indeed—swoln from the confluence of youthful instincts and youthful fancy, glowing in the radiance of hope newly risen, in short enlarged by the collective sympathies of nature—but still having a depth of calmer element in a will stronger than desire, more entire than choice, and which gives permanence to its own act by converting it into faith and duty. Hence with excellent judgement and with an excellence higher than mere judgement can give, at the close of the play, when Cressida has sunk into infamy below retrieval and beneath a hope, the same will, which had been the substance and the basis of his love, while the restless pleasures and passionate longings, like sea-waves, had tossed but on its surface,—the same moral energy snatches him aloof from all neighbourhood with her dishonor, from all lingering fondness and languishing regrets, while it rushes with him into other and nobler duties, and deepens the channel which his heroic brother's death had left empty for its collected flood. Yet another secondary and subordinate purpose he has inwoven with the two characters, that of opposing the inferior civilization but purer morals of the Trojans to the refinements, deep policy, but duplicity and sensual corruptions of the Greeks.

To all this, however, there is so little comparative projection given,—nay, the masterly group of Agamemnon, Nestor, Ulysses, and still more in advance, of Achilles, Ajax, and Thersites, so manifestly occupy the foreground that the subservience and vassalage of strength and animal courage to intellect and policy seem to be the lesson [2] most often in our poet's view, and which he has taken little pains to connect with the former more interesting moral impersonated in the titular hero and heroine of the drama. But I am half inclined to believe that Shakespeare's main object, or shall I rather say, that his ruling impulse, was to translate the poetic

[1] Cf. Allsop's *Letters, etc., of Coleridge* (1858 edition), p. 133, for a brief repetition of these remarks.

[2] Those who object to the word 'lesson' may prefer Coleridge's first phrase, 'moral impression,' which he struck out.

heroes of paganism into the not less rude but more intellectually vigorous, more *featurely* warriors of Christian chivalry, to substantiate the distinct and graceful profiles or outlines of the Homeric epic into the flesh and blood of the romantic drama—in short, to give a grand history-piece in the robust style of Albert Dürer.

The character of Thersites well deserves a more particular attention, as the Caliban of demagogues' life—the admirable portrait of intellectual power deserted by all grace, all moral principle, all not momentary purpose ; just wise enough to detect the weak head, and fool enough to provoke the armed fist of his betters ; whom malcontent Achilles can inveigle from malcontent Ajax, under the condition that he shall be called on to do nothing but to abuse and slander and that he shall be allowed to abuse as much and as purulently as he likes—that is, as [he] can ; in short, a mule, quarrelsome by the original discord of its nature, a slave by tenure of his own baseness, made to bray and be brayed, to despise and be despicable.—Ay, sir, but say what you will, he is a devilish clever fellow, tho' the best friends will fall out ; but there was a time when Ajax thought he deserved to have a statue of gold erected to him, and handsome Achilles, at the head of the Myrmidons, gave no little credit to his " friend, Thersites."

[IV. v. 58-59. Stockdale reading, following the Quarto and Folios :

O, these encount[er]ers, so glib of tongue,
That give a coasting welcome ere it comes.

Theobald's suggestion, ' accosting ' is followed by the Cambridge editors, etc.]

Accosting ? See the *Twelfth Night*, " Accost her, knight ! accost." Yet there *sounds* a something so Shakespearish in the phrase, " *give* a *coasting* welcome," taking " coasting " as the epithet and adjective to welcome, that had the following been " ere *they* land " instead of " ere *it* comes," I should have preferred the interpretation. The sense now is, " that give welcome to a salute ere it comes."

[*All's Well That Ends Well.*]

[I. i. 50-53.

Count. If the living be enemy to the grief, the excess makes it soon mortal.

Ber. Madam, I desire your holy wishes.

Laf. How understand we that ?]

Both* [Bertram and Lafeu], I imagine, speak together. Lafeu refers to " If the living," etc.

[II. i. 12-15.

King. . . . . let higher Italy,—
Those bated that inherit but the fall
Of the last monarchy,—see that you come
Not to woo honour, but to wed it.

Warburton's note in Theobald's edition : " . . . The King says, *higher* Italy ;—giving it the rank of preference to *France* ; but he corrects himself and says, I except those from that precedency, who only inherit the fall of the last monarchy ; as all the little petty states ; for instance, *Florence* to whom these voluntiers were going . . . "]

It* would be, I own, an audacious and unjustifiable change of the text ; but yet as a mere conjecture, I venture to suggest " those bastards " [1] for " those bated." As it stands, [in] spite of Warburton's note I can make little or nothing of it. Why should the king except the then most illustrious states, who, as republics, were more truly the inheritors of Roman grandeur ? With my conjecture, the sense would be—" let higher, *i.e.*, the more northern part of, Italy (unless " higher " be a corruption for " hir'd," as the metre seems to demand a monosyllable), those bastards that inherit the infamy only of their fathers, see," etc. The following " wed " and " woo " are so far confirmative as they mark [a] Shakespeare's manner of connection by unmarked influences of association from some preceding metaphor. This it is which makes his style so peculiarly vital and organic. Likewise " those girls of Italy " strengthens the guess. The absurdity of Warburton's gloss, which makes the king call Italy superior, and

[a] *MS.* ' *it marks.*' [1] Hanmer's suggestion.

then except the only part the lords were going to, must strike every one.

[II. iii. 1-3.

Laf. They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless.]

Shakespeare,* inspir'd, as it might seem, with all knowledge, here uses the word causeless in its strict philosophical sense, cause being truly predicable only of phenomena, *i.e.*, things natural, not of noumena or things supernatural.

[III. v. 45-48.

Hel. His name, I pray you.
Dea. The Count Rousillon: know you such a one?
Hel. But by the ear, that hears most nobly of him:
His face I know not.]

Shall* we say here that Shakespeare has unnecessarily made his loveliest character utter a lie? or shall we dare think that where to deceive was necessary, he thought a pretended verbal verity a double crime, equally with the other a lie to the hearer, and at the same time a lie to one's own conscience?[1] S.T.C.

[*Measure for Measure.*]

This* play, which is Shakespeare's throughout, is to me the most painful—say rather, the only painful—part of his genuine works. The comic and tragic parts equally border on the μισητόν, the one disgusting, the other horrible; and the pardon and marriage of Angelo not merely baffles the strong indignant claim of justice (for cruelty, with lust and damnable baseness, cannot be forgiven, because we cannot

[1] J. P. Collier has preserved another remark of Coleridge on this play which may be included with the marginalia above: "It was the opinion of Coleridge, an opinion which he first delivered in 1813, and again in 1818 . . . that 'All's Well that Ends Well,' as it has come down to us, was written at two different, and rather distant periods of the poet's life. He pointed out very clearly two distinct styles, not only of thought, but of expression." Collier's Introduction to *All's Well* in his edition of Shakespeare's *Works* (1842-44), iii. 203.

conceive them as being *morally* repented of) but it is likewise degrading to the character of woman. Beaumont and Fletcher, who can follow Shakespeare in his errors only, have presented a still worse because more loathsome and contradictory instance of the same kind in their [a] *Night-Walker*, in the marriage of Alathe to Algripe. Of the counterbalancing beauties of the *Measure for Measure* I need say nothing, for I have already said that it is Shakespeare's throughout. S. T. Coleridge.

[III. i. 130-33. Claudio to Isabella :

The weariest and most loathed wordly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

" This natural fear of *Claudio*, from the antipathy we have to death, seems very little varied from that infamous wish of *Maecenas* recorded in the 101st Epistle of *Seneca*.

. . . . . .
Vita dum superest, bene est,
Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine."

Warburton's note.]

I* cannot but think this rather an heroic resolve than an infamous wish. It appears to me the grandest symptom of an immortal spirit, even when that bedimmed and overwhelmed spirit recked not of its own immortality—[to seek] the privilege to *be*, to be a mind, a will.

[As fame is to reputation, so heaven is to an estate, or immediate advantage. The difference is, that the self-love of the former cannot exist but by a complete suppression and habitual supplantation of immediate selfishness. In one point of view, the miser is more estimable than the spendthrift ;—only that the miser's present feelings are as much of the present as the spendthrift's. But *caeteris paribus*, that is, upon the supposition that whatever is good or lovely in the

[a] *MS.* ' *his*.'

one coexists equally in the other, then, doubtless, the master of the present is less a selfish being, an animal, than he who lives for the moment with no inheritance in the future. Whatever can degrade man, is supposed in the latter case, whatever can elevate him, in the former. And as to self; —strange and generous self! that can only be such a self by a complete divestment of all that men call self,—of all that can make it either practically to others, or consciously to the individual himself, different from the human race in its ideal. Such self is but a perpetual religion, an inalienable acknowledgment of God, the sole basis and ground of being. In this sense, how can I love God, and not love myself, as far as it is of God ?] [1]

[III. ii. 245-46.

Pattern in himself to know,
Grace to stand and virtue go ;]

Worse* metre indeed, but better English, were

Grace to stand, virtue to go.

[*Cymbeline.*]

[I. i. 1-3. Theobald's edition reads as follows :

You do not meet a man, but frowns : our bloods
No more obey the heavens than our courtiers ;
Still seem, as does the King's.]

Mispointed* :

our bloods
Not more obey the heavens, than our courtiers'
Still seem as does the king's.

i.e., the circulation of men's blood in general does not more depend on the stars (as was almost universally believed in Shakespeare's time) than our courtiers' blood seems to

[1] The paragraph in square brackets is reprinted from *L.R.* The editor does not doubt its authenticity, but he does seriously question whether it was intended either for this place or for any other in Coleridge's Shakespearean criticism.

sympathize with the king's. But I should greatly prefer the following, [Tyrwhitt's reading [1]] :

> our bloods
> Not more obey the heavens than our courtiers
> Still seem as does the king—

i.e., the motion of our blood is not more dependent on the motion of the heavens than the appearance of our courtiers' faces depends on that of the king's. [Theobald edition.]

There can be no doubt of Mr. Tyrwhitt's emendation, as to the sense—only it is not impossible that Shakespeare's dramatic language may permit of the word " brows," or " faces," being understood after the word " courtiers' ", which might then remain in the genitive case plural. But the nominative plural makes excellent sense and is sufficiently elegant and sounds to my ear Shakespearian.

[Later.] More probably, the word " courtiers' " is a misprint from an anticipation of the compositor's eye (line 12[a]) for " count'nances." The manuscript [b] *r* is easily and often confounded with the manuscript [b] *n*. The compositor read the first syllable *court*, and his eye catching at the same time the word " courtier " at the end of a line (the 12th [c]) he completed the word without reconsulting the copy. [Stockdale edition.]

It is not unlikely that Shakspeare intended first to express generally the same thought, which a little afterwards he repeats with a particular application to the persons meant ; —a common usage of the pronominal ' our,' where the speaker does not really mean to include himself ; and the word ' you ' is an additional confirmation of the ' our ' being used in this place, for men generally and indefinitely, just as ' you do not meet,' is the same as ' one does not meet.'

What, however, is meant by ' our bloods no more obey the heavens ? '—Dr. Johnson's assertion that ' bloods ' signify ' countenances,' is, I think, mistaken both in the thought conveyed—(for it was never a popular belief that the stars

[a] *MS.* ' *l.* 20 ' (*Stockdale edition*). [b] *MS.* ' *mss.*'
[c] *MS.* ' (*the* 20*th*).'

[1] This is the reading of the Cambridge edition, etc.

governed men's countenances,) and in the usage, which requires an antithesis of the blood,—or the temperament of the four humours, choler, melancholy, phlegm, and the red globules, or the sanguine portion, which was supposed not to be in our own power, but, to be dependent on the influences of the heavenly bodies,—and the countenances which are in our power really, though from flattery we bring them into a no less apparent dependence on the sovereign, than the former are in actual dependence on the constellations.[1]

[I. i. 86-88. Imogen to Posthumus.

I something fear my father's wrath ; but nothing—
Always reserved my holy duty—what
His rage can do on me.]

The* emphasis [is] on the word " me " ; " rage " is the mere repetition of " wrath."

[I. i. 131-33. Cymbeline to Imogen.

O disloyal thing,
That shouldst repair my youth, thou heap'st
A year's age on me !]

[Theobald's* note deals only with the supposed weakness of ' a year's age.'] But the un-Shakespearian defect in the metre, and what in Shakespeare is the same, in the harmony with the sense and feeling. Some word or words have slipped out after " youth," possibly " and see."

That shouldst repair my youth, and see ! thou heaps't.

[I. iii. 8-11.

. . . . so long
As he could make me with this eye or ear
Distinguish him from others, he did keep
The deck.

Warburton suggested ' this eye,' as above, for ' his eye ' of the Folios.]

[1] The two preceding paragraphs are reprinted from *L.R.* In that text they are woven into the marginalia, and are reversed in order, thus destroying the connection of Coleridge's two marginalia in the Stockdale edition.

" This*," [in] spite of the δεικτικῶς [supposed by Theobald], is awkward. Either " or " or " the " was Shakespeare's word.

As he could make me or with eye or ear.

[I. vi. 31-35.

Hath nature given them eyes
To see this vaulted arch and the rich crop
Of sea and land, which can distinguish 'twixt
The fiery orbs above and the twinn'd stones
Upon the number'd beach. . . . ?]

For " crop " I do not hesitate to read " cope," and the following lines thus :

. . . . which can distinguish 'twixt
The fiery orbs above, and the grimed stones
Upon an umber'd beach.

I have found " grind " in an old MS. so written as that I mistook it for " twind," and here the origin of the printer's *erratum* is evident, from the " *tw*ixt " above and below. But tho' I take Dr. Farmer's " umber'd," which I had proposed before I ever saw or heard of its having been already suggested, I do not adopt his interpretation of the word, which I doubt not is derived not from *umbra*, a shade, but from " umber," a dingy yellow-brown soil, which most frequently forms the mass of the sludge on the sea-shore and on the banks of tide-rivers at low water. One other *possible* interpretation of this sentence has occurred to me, just barely worth mentioning—" the twinn'd stones "=the *augrim* [1] (algorithm) stones upon the number'd beech, the astronomical tables of beech-wood. [Stockdale edition.]

[Theobald* suggests " th'unnumber'd "] ; I prefer " umber'd " (darkened, antithetic to " fiery ") or " cumber'd."

But* what is the meaning of " twinn'd stones " ? For " number'd " read " humbled " [2] (or " umber'd " or

[1] Coleridge's phrase explains itself ; but for ' augrim,' ' algorithm,' etc. (the Arabic system of numeration), see the *New English Dictionary* under ' algorism.'

[2] Warburton's conjecture.

" cumber'd "). May not " twinned stones " be a bold catachresis for shells, as mussels, cockles, and other empty shells with hinges. These are truly " twinn'd." [Theobald edition.]

[V. v. 435-40.

Sooth. [Reads] ' When as a lion's whelp,' etc.]

It* is not easy to conjecture why Shakespeare should have introduced this ludicrous scroll, which answers no one purpose, either propulsive or explicatory, unless as a joke on etymology.

[*Winter's Tale.*]

Altho'* on the whole exquisitely respondent to its title,[1] and even in the fault I am about to mention, still a winter's tale, yet it seems a mere indolence of the great bard not to have in the oracle provided some ground for Hermione's seeming death and fifteen years concealment, voluntary concealment. This might have been easily affected by some obscure sentence of the oracle, as, *ex. gr.*, " Nor shall he ever recover an heir if he have a wife before that recovery." S.T.C.

[I. ii. 40-42.

I'll give him my commission
To let him there a month behind the *gest*
Prefix'd for's parting.

Theobald suggests ' just.']

More* probably the syllable " lon " had slipped out in the press-form of the first edition—

behind the longest

Prefixed, etc.

[III. ii. 182-84. Paulina to Leontes.

That thou betray'dst Polixenes, 'twas nothing ;
That did but show thee, of a *fool*, inconstant
And damnable ingrateful.

Theobald suggests ' soul ' ; " It is certainly too gross and blunt in *Paulina* . . . to call him [the king] downright a fool.

[1] Cf. i. 121 ; ii. 276.

And it is much more pardonable in her to arraign his morals, and the qualities of his mind, than rudely to call him *ideot* to his face."]

I* think the original to be Shakespeare's. 1. My ear feels it Shakespearian ; 2. the involved grammar is Shakespearian —*i.e.*, " shew thee, being a fool naturally, to have improved your folly by inconstancy," etc. ; 3. the alteration is most flat and un-*Shakespearian*. As to grossness, [she calls him] " gross and foolish " below.

[IV. iii. 29-30.

. . . . for the life to come, I sleep
out the thought of it]

Fine* as this is, and delicately characteristic of one who had lived and been reared in the best society, and had been precipitated from it by " die and drab " ; yet still it strikes against my feelings as a note out of time and as not coalescing with that *pastoral* tint which gives such a charm to this fourth act. It is too Macbeth-like in the " snapper-up of unconsidered trifles."

[IV. iv. 118.

From Dis's waggon ! daffodils.]

An* epithet is wanting here not merely or chiefly for the metre, but for the *balance*, for the *aesthetic* logic. Perhaps " golden " or " brighter," which would set off " the violets dim."

" Brightest "* would (tho' to my ear not unpleasingly) jingle with " frighted " ; " glorious " was perhaps the word dropt out. S.T.C.

[IV. iv. 122-123.

. . . . pale primroses
That die unmarried.]

" And* [a] the rathe primrose that forsaken dies."
Milton [*Lycidas*, l. 142].

[a] *Read* ' *Bring*.'

[IV. iv. 433-42.

Per. Even here undone!
I was not much afeard; for once or twice
I was about to speak and tell him plainly,
The selfsame sun that shines upon his court
Hides not his visage from our cottage, but
Looks on alike. Will't please you, sir, be gone?
I told you what would come of this: beseech you,
Of your own state take care: this dream of mine,—
Being now awake, I'll queen it no inch farther,
But milk my ewes and weep.]

O* how more than exquisite [a] is this whole speech,—and that profound nature of noble pride and grief venting themselves in a momentary peevishness of resentment toward Florizel—

Will't please you, sir, be gone.

[IV. iv. 711-15.

Aut. A lie; you are rough and hairy. Let me have no lying: it becomes none but tradesmen, and they often give us soldiers the lie: but we pay them for it with stamped coin, not stabbing steel; therefore they do not give us the lie.]

As* we *pay* them, they, therefore, do not *give* it us.

[V. iii. 17-18. Folio text.

. . . . I keep it
Lovely, apart.]

Perhaps,* 'n' for 'v'; *i.e.*, "lonely." [1]

Winter's Tale—Othello.[2]

I. The exquisite significance of Shakespeare's titles in "Midsummer's Night's Dream," "As You Like It," "Winter's Tale." [3]

[a] *MS.* '*exquisitly.*'

[1] This is Hanmer's emendation, accepted by the Cambridge editors.

[2] This MS. comes, not from the marginalia, but from E.H.C.'s transcript of one of the note-books. These notes are the basis of Coleridge's fourth lecture at Bristol in 1813. (Cf. ii. 275-77. Cf. also i. 37, note 3.) Some of the page-references in Coleridge's MS. are too long to quote and are not needed for the sense; they are, therefore, merely indicated by line-references.

[3] Cf. i. 119; ii. 276.

II. Difference of style in the first scene between two chit-chatters, [Camillo and Archidamus], and the rise of diction on the introduction of the kings and Hermione [in the second scene.]

III. Admirable preparation in Polixenes' obstinate refusal to Leontes—

> There is no tongue that moves, no, none i' the world,[a]
> [So soon as yours could win me [1]]—

and yet his after-yielding to Hermione, which is at once perfectly natural from mere courtesy of sex and the exhaustion of the will by the former effort, and yet so well calculated to set in nascent action the jealousy of Leontes. And this, once excited, [is] increased [b] by Hermione [c]—

> Yet, good deed, Leontes,
> [I love thee not a jar o' the clock behind
> What lady she her lord [2]]—

accompanied (as a good actress ought to represent it) by an expression and recoil of apprehension that she had gone too far. The first working of this—

> At my request he would not.[3]

This [should be] judiciously introduced or accompanied by a definition of *jealousy*, not of all so-called by persons imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances, but of what really is so ; *i.e.*, [jealousy] as a *vice* of the mind, a culpable despicable tendency.

The natural effects and concomitants of this passion.

1. Excitability by the most inadequate causes, [as in Leontes' aside [d]], " Too hot, too hot." Eagerness to snatch at proofs. [See [e] I. ii. 212-228], Camillo, etc.

2. Grossness of conception, and a disposition to degrade the object of it. Sensual fancies and images. [See I. ii.

[a] *Read ' none, none i' the world.'* [b] *MS. ' increasedly.'*
[c] *MS. ' p. 569.' Page-reference to vol. ii. Rann's ed. of Shakespeare* (1786).
[d] *MS. ' 571.' Page-reference, as above.*
[e] *MS. ' 575 Camillo, etc.' Page-reference.*

[1] I. ii. 20-21. [2] I. ii. 42-44. [3] I. ii. 87.

284-96, 108-127], huddling [?], paling [?], [I. ii. 185-207], *et passim*.[a]

3. Shame of his own feelings exhibited in moodiness and soliloquy.

4. And yet from the violence of the passion forced to *utter* itself, and, therefore, catching occasion to ease the mind by ambiguities, equivoques, talking to those who cannot and who are known not to be able to understand what is said—a soliloquy in the mask of dialogue. [I. ii. 119-46 [b].] Hence confused, broken manner, fragmentary, in the dialogue with the little boy [c] [just cited].

5. The dread of vulgar ridicule, as distinct from the high sense of honor—

> They're here with me already ; whispering, rounding
> [Sicilia is a so-forth,[1]] etc.—

and out of this, selfish vindictiveness [as in the soliloquies of Leontes,[d] II. iii. 1-26.] How distinguished from the feeling of high honor (as in Othello), a mistaken sense of duty.

IV. Shakespeare in drawing the very worst kings always introduces some corrective of the indignation, lest it should extend too far,[2] as Camillo's speech,[e] [I. ii. 352-59 :

> I must be the poisoner
> Of good Polixenes : and my ground to do't
> Is the obedience to a master, one
> Who, in rebellion with himself, will have
> All that are his so too. To do this deed,
> Promotion follows. If I could find example
> Of thousands that had struck anointed kings
> And flourish'd after, I'ld not do't.]

V. Shakespeare's exquisite tenderness, playful tenderness, sweetness and amiability of nature in all his scenes with

[a] *The bracketed line references supplant these page-references to Rann's edition,* ' 578-79 ; 572 ; 575.'

[b] *MS.* ' 572, 573.' *Page references.*

[c] *MS.* ' 576—*in the dialogue with the little boy.*' *Apparently this page-reference should be* ' 575.' *The meaning is clear, however.*

[d] *MS.* ' 597.'

[e] *MS.* ' *Camillo's speech,* 581.'

[1] I. ii. 217-18.

[2] Cf. i. 233.

children. Lady Macduff [and her child, and little Mamillius with Hermione and her ladies.[a]]. See [b] [p. 79, above].

VI. Othello's self-government opposed to Leontes [1] [*Othello*, I. ii. 81-85.

> Hold your hands,
> Both you of my inclining and the rest :
> Were it my cue to fight, I should have known it
> Without a prompter. Where will you that I go
> To answer this your charge ? [c]]

VII. Entirely by the best moral feelings that Desdemona attached herself to Othello and Othello to Desdemona [*Othello*, I. iii. 167-70.

> She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd
> And I loved her that she did pity them ;
> This only is the witchcraft I have used.
> Here comes the lady ; let her witness it.[d]]

VIII. The direct opposite to Leontes' grossness in [Othello's speech to the Duke's council, I. iii. 260-65 :

> Let her have your voices.
> Vouch with me, heaven, I therefore beg it not
> To please the palate of my appetite ;
> Nor to comply with heat—the young affects
> In me defunct—and proper satisfaction ;
> But to be free and bounteous to her mind.[e]]

IX. [Othello's trusting nature, displayed in his speech to the duke, I. iii. 283-85 :

> . . . . So] please your grace, my ancient
> A man he is of honesty and trust :
> To his conveyance I assign my wife—

[a] *MS.* ' 586.' [b] *MS.* ' *See the cover* ' [*of the note-book*].
[c] *MS.* ' *Othello* 425 ' (*vol. vi. Rann's Shakespeare*).
[d] *MS.* '433.' [e] *MS.* ' *in* 437.'

[1] An afterthought of Coleridge's, which is scribbled on the back of the page opposite these notes, may perhaps be inserted here : " How Shakespeare is superior in real probability to those who sacrifice everything to the unity of the powerful characters." The reference (vol. vi. 426, 427, 428) is to the meeting of the Duke's council, I. iii. 1-51, up to the complaint of Brabantio. Since this page reference was unique in being attached to a volume-number and since it seemed to refer to *Othello*, it afforded the editor a clue by which he was able to find the edition of Shakespeare used for these lectures.

contrasted with Leontes' behaviour to his true friend, Camillo.

And [in Iago's soliloquy,[a] II. i. 280-306, note] the dreadful habit of thinking of moral feelings and qualities only as prudential ends to means.[1]

X. Othello's *belief* not jealousy; forced upon him by Iago, and such as any man would and must feel who had believed of Iago as Othello. His great mistake that *we* know Iago for a villain from the first moment.[b] [III. iii. 154-80.]

Proofs of the contrary character in Othello.[2]

[But in considering the essence of the Shakspearian Othello, we must perseveringly place ourselves in his situation, and under his circumstances. Then we shall immediately feel the fundamental difference between the solemn agony of the noble Moor, and the wretched fishing jealousies of Leontes, and the morbid suspiciousness of Leonatus, who is, in other respects, a fine character. Othello had no life but in Desdemona:—the belief that she, his angel, had fallen from the heaven of her native innocence, wrought a civil war in his heart. She is his counterpart; and, like him, is almost sanctified in our eyes by her absolute unsuspiciousness, and holy entireness of love. As the curtain drops, which do we pity the most?] [3]

[a] *MS.* ' 454 *and.*'

[b] *MS.* ' *moment* 480.' *Coleridge's use of this part of Iago's attack upon Othello's peace of mind seems very uncertain, and I have not, therefore, attempted to quote.*

[1] " Surely a high compliment to women that all the sarcasms on them Shakespeare has put in the mouth of villains, like Iago." Coleridge's note scribbled on the back of the opposite page. The reference (" 447 ") is to Iago's satirical jesting against women, II. i. 100-19, etc., at the landing of Desdemona.

[2] The contrary to a jealous character. Only this head (No. 10) was used by H.N.C. for the notes on *Othello* in *L.R.*

[3] The paragraph in square brackets is from *L.R.* The style and the fact that it is a mere development of the point which Coleridge has made incline the present editor to regard it as spurious, written merely to give a rhetorical conclusion. Against this hypothesis may be cited the phrase ' wretched fishing jealousies,' which sounds like Coleridge, and the reference to Leonatus, which adds new material. The reference to Leonatus may well be from Coleridge's conversation. Cf. ii. 352, for a reference to Leonatus in *Table-Talk*. If the editorial labor in

[*The Tempest.*]

Once more, tho' in a somewhat different and, I would fain believe, in a more instructive form, I have undertaken the task of criticizing the works of that great dramatist whose own name has become their best and most expressive epithet. The task will be genial in proportion as the criticism is reverential. Assuredly the Englishman who without reverence, who without a proud and affectionate reverence, can utter the name of Shakespeare, stands disqualified for the office. He wants one at least of the very senses, the language of which he is to employ, and will discourse at best [but as a blind man], while the whole harmonious creation of light and shade with all its subtle interchange of deepening and dissolving colors rises in silence to the silent fiat of the uprising Apollo. However inferior in ability to some who have followed me, I am proud that I was the first in time who publicly demonstrated to the full extent of the position,[1] that the supposed irregularity and extravagances of Shakespeare were the mere dreams of a pedantry that arraigned the eagle because it had not the dimensions of the swan.[2] In all the successive courses delivered by me [3] since my first attempt at the Royal Institution, it has been and it still remains my object to prove that in all points from the most important to the most minute, the judgement of Shakespeare is commensurate with his genius—nay, that his genius reveals itself in his judgement, as in its most exalted form. And the more gladly do I recur to the subject from the clear conviction that

dividing the work of H. N. C. from that of his uncle has sufficed to give the editor any reliable criteria of their respective styles, he feels that he may confidently reject at least a part of this paragraph.

[1] Coleridge is obviously referring to Schlegel. Coleridge's first series of lectures did not precede Schlegel's lectures at Vienna, as Coleridge always thought, but were delivered almost exactly at the same time.

[2] Cf. i. 196.

[3] The watermark of this fragment is 1817. From the prospectus and from Thelwall's report in the *Champion*, it is evident that the lecture was used for the first lecture (on literature) of the 1818-19 course. (Cf. ii. 319, 321-23.) It may perhaps have been used previously for the fourth lecture of the 1818 course, according to the newspaper announcement of that lecture. (Cf. ii. 308.)

to judge aright, and with the distinct consciousness of the grounds of our judgement, concerning the works of Shakespeare, implies the power and the means of judging rightly of all other works, those of abstract science alone excepted.[1]

We [2] commence with *The Tempest* as a specimen of the romantic drama. But whatever play of Shakespeare's we had selected there is one preliminary point to be first settled, as the indispensable condition not only of just and genial criticism, but of all consistency in our opinions. This point is contained in the words, probable, natural. We are all in the habit of praising Shakespeare or of hearing him extolled for his fidelity to nature. Now what are we to understand by these words in their application to the drama? Assuredly not the ordinary meaning of them. Farquhar,[3] the most ably, and if we except a few sentences in one of Dryden's prefaces [4] (written for a particular purpose and in contradiction to the opinions elsewhere supported by him) first exposed the ludicrous absurdities involved in the supposition, and demolished as with the single sweep of a careless hand the whole edifice of French criticism respecting the so-called unities of time and place. But a moment's reflection suffices to make every man conscious of what every man must have before felt, that the drama is an *imitation* of reality, not a

[1] This introductory lecture on *The Tempest* begins on loose leaves (Egerton 2800, ff. 25a, 25b) which are numbered '1, 2'; it continues on the blank pages opposite *The Tempest* in Coleridge's copy of Shakespeare's works; it then returns to the loose leaves (Egerton 2800, ff. 26a, b, 27a, b), which are numbered '4, 5, 6, 7.' The numbering, the correspondence of the paper leaves and their water-marks, and the subject-matter, make it impossible to question the unity of this fragment. The fact that H. N. C. printed the two above MS. pages (Egerton 2800, f. 25a, b) in the section which he entitled "Shakespeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius," is probably explained by the subject-matter rather than by a misunderstanding of Coleridge's own intention.

[2] Here Coleridge shifts to the blank leaves opposite *The Tempest*.

[3] *A Discourse upon Comedy*.

[4] Dryden was a defender of the three unities, but he gave them a liberal interpretation. The answer of Neander (Dryden), to Crites and Lisideius in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* is probably the passage to which Coleridge refers; but others may be cited, as, for instance, in the *Preface to Don Sebastian*, or at the end of the *Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, though the *Defence* is primarily an answer to Sir Robert Howard's attack upon the unities.

copy—and that imitation is contradistinguished from copy by this : that a certain quantum of difference is essential to the former, and an indispensable condition and cause of the pleasure we derive from it ; while in a copy it is a defect, contravening its name and purpose. If illustration were needed, it should be sufficient to ask why we prefer a fruit view of Van Huysum's to a marble peach on a mantel-piece, or why we prefer an historical picture of West to Mrs. Salmon's wax-figure gallery. Not only that we ought, but that we actually do, all of us judge of the drama under this impression, we need no other proof than the impassive slumber of our sense of probability when we hear an actor announce himself as a Greek, Roman, Venetian, or Persian in good mother English. And how little our great dramatist feared awakening in it we have a lively instance in proof in Portia's answer to Nerissa's [a] question, " What say you then to Falconbridge, the young baron of England ? "—to which she replies, " You know I say nothing to him ; for he understands not me, nor I him. He hath neither Latin, French, or [b] Italian, and you will come into the court and swear that I have a poor pennyworth in the English." [1]

Still, however, there is a sort of improbability with which we are shocked in dramatic representation no less than in the narrative of real life. Consequently, there must be rules respecting it ; and as rules are nothing but means to an end previously ascertained (the inattention to which simple truth has been the occasion of all the pedantry of the French school), we must first ascertain what the immediate end or object of the drama is. Here I find two extremes in critical decision : the French, which evidently presupposes that a perfect delusion is to be aimed at—an opinion which now needs no fresh confutation ; the opposite, supported by Dr. Johnson, supposes the auditors throughout as in the full and positive

[a] *MS.* ' *Neaera's.*' [b] *Read* ' *nor.*'

[1] *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 59-64. The preceding paragraph does not appear in *L.R.* It was first published by the present editor in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, September, 1927 (vol. xlii. p. 763).

reflective knowledge of the contrary. In evincing the impossibility of delusion, he makes no sufficient allowance for an intermediate state, which we distinguish by the term illusion.[1]

In what this consists I cannot better explain than by referring you to the highest degree of it; namely, dreaming. It is laxly said that during sleep we take our dreams for realities, but this is irreconcilable with the nature of sleep, which consists in a suspension of the voluntary and, therefore, of the comparative power. The fact is that we pass no judgement either way: we simply do not judge them to be unreal, in consequence of which the images act on our minds, as far as they act at all, by their own force as images. Our state while we are dreaming differs from that in which we are in the perusal of a deeply interesting novel in the degree rather than in the kind, and from three causes: First, from the exclusion of all outward impressions on our senses the images in sleep become proportionally more vivid than they can be when the organs of sense are in their active state. Secondly, in sleep the sensations, and with these the emotions and passions which they counterfeit, are the causes of our dream-images, while in our waking hours our emotions are the effects of the images presented to us. (Apparitions [are] *so detectible*.) Lastly, in sleep we pass at once by a sudden collapse into this suspension of will and the comparative power: whereas in an interesting play, read or represented, we are brought up to this point, as far as it is requisite or desirable, gradually, by the art of the poet and the actors; and with the consent and positive aidance of our own will. We *choose* to be deceived. The rule, therefore, may be easily inferred. Whatever tends to prevent the mind from placing it[self] or from being gradually placed in this state in which the images have a negative reality must[2] be a defect, and consequently anything that must force itself on the auditors' mind as improbable, not because it *is* improbable (for that the whole

[1] The preceding paragraph is printed by H. N. C. in "Notes on the Tempest." He summarizes the following paragraph.

[2] With this word, 'must,' Coleridge returns to the loose leaves (Egerton, 2800, ff. 26a, 26b, 27a, 27b), numbered '4, 5, 6, 7.' H. N. C. printed this part of the lecture with very little further alteration.

play is foreknown to be) but because it cannot but *appear* as such.

But this again depends on the degree of excitement in which the mind is supposed to be. Many things would be intolerable in the first scene of a play that would not at all interrupt our enjoyment in the height of the interest. The narrow cockpit may hold

> The vasty fields of France, or we may cram
> Within its wooden O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt.[1]

And again, on the other hand, many obvious improbabilities will be endured as belonging to the groundwork of the story rather than to the drama, in the first scenes, which would disturb or disentrance us from all illusion in the acme of our excitement, as, for instance, Lear's division of his realm and banishment of Cordelia. But besides this dramatic probability, all the other excellencies of the drama, as unity of interest, with distinctness and subordination of the characters, appropriateness of style, nay, and the charm of language and sentiment for their own sakes, yet still as far as they tend to increase the inward excitement, are all means to this chief end, that of producing and supporting this willing illusion.

I have but one point more to add—namely, that tho' the excellencies above mentioned are means to this end, they do not therefore cease to be themselves *ends*, and as such carry their own justification with them as long as they do not contravene or interrupt the illusion. It is not even always or of necessity an objection to them, that they prevent it from rising to as great a height as it might otherwise have attained ; it is enough, if they are compatible with as high a degree as is requisite. If the panorama had been invented in the time of Leo X., Raphael would still have smiled at the regret that the

[1] *Henry V.*, Prologue, 11-14 :

> . . . . can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France ? or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt ?

broom-twigs, etc., at the back of his grand pictures were not as probable trees as those in the panorama. Let me venture to affirm that certain obvious, if not palpable, improbabilities may be hazarded in order to keep down a scene, [to keep it] merely instrumental, and to preserve it in its due proportion of interest. I now quit this subject for the time with less regret, because in my next lecture I shall have occasion to take it up again, in application to Shakespeare's *historical* dramas.[1]

The Tempest, I repeat, has been selected as a specimen of the romantic drama ; *i.e.*, of a drama, the interests of which are independent of all historical facts and associations, and arise from their fitness to that faculty of our nature, the imagination I mean, which owns no allegiance to time and place,—a species of drama, therefore, in which errors in chronology and geography, no mortal sins in any species, are venial, or count for nothing.

The romance opens with a busy lively scene, admirably appropriate to the *kind* of drama, giving as it were the key-note.

Exquisite[2] judgement—first the noise and confusion—then the silence of a deserted island—and Prospero and Miranda. I have often thought of Shakespeare as the mighty wizard himself introducing as the first and fairest [?] pledge of his so potent art, the female character in all its charms, as if conscious that he first had represented womanhood as a dramatist.

It[3] addresses itself entirely to the imaginative faculty ; and although the illusion may be assisted by the effect on the

[1] This study of dramatic illusion should be read in relation to the earlier discussion on i. 199-207. For Coleridge's sources, cf. i. 200, n. 2.

[2] This paragraph is a separate fragment, from Additional 34, 225, f. 49a (watermark, 1817). I have omitted a few trivial and almost illegible jottings which immediately precede and follow. The page begins with some fairly coherent notes on *Love's Labor's Lost*, which are here printed on i. 92-93.

[3] Except for two marginalia in foot-notes the editor has no further MSS. bearing on *The Tempest*, and has reprinted from *L.R.* all that follows after this point.

senses of the complicated scenery and decorations of modern times yet this sort of assistance is dangerous. For the principal and only genuine excitement ought to come from within,—from the moved and sympathetic imagination; whereas, where so much is addressed to the mere external senses of seeing and hearing, the spiritual vision is apt to languish, and the attraction from without will withdraw the mind from the proper and only legitimate interest which is intended to spring from within.

The romance opens with a busy scene admirably appropriate to the kind of drama, and giving, as it were, the key-note to the whole harmony.[1] It prepares and initiates the excitement required for the entire piece, and yet does not demand anything from the spectators, which their previous habits had not fitted them to understand. It is the bustle of a tempest, from which the real horrors are abstracted;—therefore it is poetical, though not in strictness natural—(the distinction to which I have so often alluded)—and is purposely restrained from concentering the interest on itself, but used merely as an induction or tuning for what is to follow.

In the second scene, Prospero's speeches, till the entrance of Ariel, contain the finest example I remember of retrospective narration for the purpose of exciting immediate interest, and putting the audience in possession of all the information necessary for the understanding of the plot.[2]

[1] This sentence seems to be an interpolation by H. N. C. from the conclusion of the fragmentary lecture of 1818 which I have printed above.

[2] Two marginal notes from Theobald's Shakespeare may be inserted at this point.

[I. ii. 117-20.

Pros. Mark his condition, and the event; then tell me
If this might be a brother.
Mir. I should sin
To think but nobly of my grandmother:
Good wombs have born bad sons.

Theobald suggests that the last line of Miranda's speech should be given to Prospero, who replies.]

"I cannot but believe that Theobald is quite right." S. T. C.

[I. ii. 437-38.

Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the Duke of Milan
And his brave son being twain.

Observe, too, the perfect probability of the moment chosen by Prospero (the very Shakspeare himself, as it were, of the tempest) to open out the truth to his daughter, his own romantic bearing, and how completely any thing that might have been disagreeable to us in the magician, is reconciled and shaded in the humanity and natural feelings of the father. In the very first speech of Miranda the simplicity and tenderness of her character are at once laid open ;—it would have been lost in direct contact with the agitation of the first scene. The opinion once prevailed, but, happily, is now abandoned, that Fletcher alone wrote for women ; [1] —the truth is, that with very few, and those partial, exceptions, the female characters in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher are, when of the light kind, not decent ; when heroic, complete viragos. But in Shakspeare all the elements of womanhood are holy, and there is the sweet, yet dignified feeling of all that *continuates* society, as sense of ancestry and of sex, with a purity unassailable by sophistry, because it rests not in the analytic processes, but in that sane equipoise of the faculties, during which the feelings are representative of all past experience,—not of the individual only, but of all those by whom she has been educated, and their predecessors even up to the first mother that lived.[2] Shakspeare saw that the want of prominence, which Pope [3] notices for sarcasm, was the blessed beauty of the woman's character, and knew that it arose not from any deficiency, but from the more exquisite harmony of all the parts of the moral being constituting one living total of head and heart. He has drawn it, indeed, in all its distinctive energies of faith, patience, constancy, fortitude,—shown in all of them as following the heart, which gives its results by a nice tact and happy

Theobald points out that no one was lost in the wreck, and yet that no son of the Duke of Milan is elsewhere mentioned in the play.]

" Must not Ferdinand have believed so—in the fleet that the tempest scattered ? " S. T. C.

[1] Cf. ii. 127-28, 141.

[2] Cf. i. 234 for the manuscript from which H. N. C. probably drew the preceding sentence, which he revised.

[3] *Moral Essays, Epistle II.* (*Of the Characters of Women*), ll. 1-2. (Cf. i. 30, 233 ; ii. 353-54.)

intuition, without the intervention of the discursive faculty,—sees all things in and by the light of the affections, and errs, if it ever err, in the exaggerations of love alone. In all the Shakspearian women there is essentially the same foundation and principle; the distinct individuality and variety are merely the result of the modification of circumstances, whether in Miranda the maiden, in Imogen the wife, or in Katharine the queen.

But to return. The appearance and characters of the super or ultra-natural servants are finely contrasted. Ariel has in every thing the airy tint which gives the name [1]; and it is worthy of remark that Miranda is never directly brought into comparison with Ariel, lest the natural and human of the one and the supernatural of the other should tend to neutralize each other; Caliban, on the other hand, is all earth, all condensed and gross in feelings and images; he has the dawnings of understanding without reason or the moral sense, and in him, as in some brute animals, this advance to the intellectual faculties, without the moral sense, is marked by the appearance of vice. For it is in the primacy of the moral being only that man is truly human; in his intellectual powers he is certainly approached by the brutes, and, man's whole system duly considered, those powers cannot be considered other than means to an end, that is, to morality.

In this scene, as it proceeds, is displayed the impression made by Ferdinand and Miranda on each other; it is love at first sight;—

> at the first sight
> They have changed eyes [2]:—

and it appears to me, that in all cases of real love, it is at one moment that it takes place. That moment may have been prepared by previous esteem, admiration, or even affection,—yet love seems to require a momentary act of volition, by which a tacit bond of devotion is imposed,—a bond not to be

[1] "In the zephyr-like Ariel, the image of air is not to be mistaken; even his name alludes to it: as, on the other hand, Caliban signifies the heavy element of earth." Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. 236-37. (Cf. ii. 176, 177.)

[2] *Tempest*, I. ii. 440-41

thereafter broken without violating what should be sacred in our nature. How finely is the true Shakspearian scene contrasted with Dryden's vulgar alteration of it, in which a mere ludicrous psychological experiment, as it were, is tried—displaying nothing but indelicacy without passion. Prospero's interruption of the courtship has often seemed to me to have no sufficient motive ; still his alleged reason—

> lest too light winning
> Make the prize light [1]—

is enough for the ethereal connexions of the romantic imagination, although it would not be so for the historical. The whole courting scene, indeed, in the beginning of the third act, between the lovers is a masterpiece ; and the first dawn of disobedience in the mind of Miranda to the command of her father is very finely drawn, so as to seem the working of the Scriptural command, *Thou shalt leave father and mother*, &c. O ! with what exquisite purity this scene is conceived and executed ! Shakspeare may sometimes be gross, but I boldly say that he is always moral and modest. Alas ! in this our day decency of manners is preserved at the expense of morality of heart, and delicacies for vice are allowed, whilst grossness against it is hypocritically, or at least morbidly, condemned.

In this play are admirably sketched the vices generally accompanying a low degree of civilization ; and in the first scene of the second act Shakspeare has, as in many other places, shown the tendency in bad men to indulge in scorn and contemptuous expressions, as a mode of getting rid of their own uneasy feelings of inferiority to the good, and also, by making the good ridiculous, of rendering the transition of others to wickedness easy.[2] Shakspeare never puts habitual scorn into the mouths of other than bad men, as here in the instances of Antonio and Sebastian. The scene of the intended assassination of Alonzo and Gonzalo is an exact counterpart of the scene between Macbeth and his lady, only

[1] *Tempest*, I. ii. 451-52.

[2] Cf. ii. 311, 316, and Allsop's *Letters, etc., of Coleridge* (1858), p. 244.

pitched in a lower key throughout, as designed to be frustrated and concealed, and exhibiting the same profound management in the manner of familiarizing a mind, not immediately recipient, to the suggestion of guilt, by associating the proposed crime with something ludicrous or out of place,—something not habitually matter of reverence. By this kind of sophistry the imagination and fancy are first bribed to contemplate the suggested act, and at length to become acquainted with it. Observe how the effect of this scene is heightened by contrast with another counterpart of it in low life,—that between the conspirators Stephano, Caliban, and Trinculo in the second scene of the third act, in which there are the same essential characteristics.

In this play and in this scene of it are also shown the springs of the vulgar in politics,—of that kind of politics which is inwoven with human nature. In his treatment of this subject, wherever it occurs, Shakspeare is quite peculiar. In other writers we find the particular opinions of the individual; in Massinger it is rank republicanism; in Beaumont and Fletcher even *jure divino* principles are carried to excess; —but Shakspeare never promulgates any party tenets. He is always the philosopher and the moralist, but at the same time with a profound veneration for all the established institutions of society, and for those classes which form the permanent elements of the state—especially never introducing a professional character, as such, otherwise than as respectable.[1] If he must have any name, he should be styled a philosophical aristocrat, delighting in those hereditary institutions which have a tendency to bind one age to another, and in that distinction of ranks, of which, although few may be in possession, all enjoy the advantages. Hence, again, you will observe the good nature with which he seems always to make sport with the passions and follies of a mob, as with an irrational animal. He is never angry with it, but hugely content with holding up its absurdities to its face; and sometimes you may trace a tone of almost affectionate superiority, something like that in which a father speaks of the rogueries of a child.[2] See the

[1] Cf. i. 9, 230, 231, 233; ii. 145. [2] Cf. i. 89 (and note), 233.

good-humoured way in which he describes Stephano passing from the most licentious freedom to absolute despotism over Trinculo and Caliban. The truth is, Shakspeare's characters are all *genera* intensely individualized ; the results of meditation, of which observation supplied the drapery and the colours necessary to combine them with each other. He had virtually surveyed all the great component powers and impulses of human nature,—had seen that their different combinations and subordinations were in fact the individualizers of men, and showed how their harmony was produced by reciprocal disproportions of excess or deficiency. The language in which these truths are expressed was not drawn from any set fashion, but from the profoundest depths of his moral being, and is therefore for all ages.[1]

[1] The latter part of this paragraph is evidently drawn in part from the MS. which I have printed on i. 232-35 (paragraph No. 12).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE

The [1] first form of poetry is the epic, the essence of which may be stated as the successive in events and characters. This must be distinguished from narration, in which there must always be a narrator, from whom the objects represented receive a coloring and a manner ;—whereas in the epic, as in the so-called poems of Homer, the whole is completely objective, and the representation is a pure reflection. The next form into which poetry passed was the dramatic ;—both forms have a common basis with a certain difference, and that difference not consisting in the dialogue alone. Both are founded on the relation of providence to the human will ; and this relation is the universal element, expressed under different points of view according to the difference of religions, and the moral and intellectual cultivation of different nations. In the epic poem fate is represented as overruling the will, and making it instrumental to the accomplishment of its designs :—

—Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή.

In the drama, the will is exhibited as struggling with fate, a great and beautiful instance and illustration of which is the Prometheus of Aeschylus ; and the deepest effect is produced, when the fate is represented as a higher and intelligent will, and the opposition of the individual as springing from a defect.

In order that a drama may be properly historical, it is necessary that it should be the history of the people to whom it is addressed. In the composition, care must be taken that there appear no dramatic improbability, as the reality is taken

[1] The two introductory paragraphs are reprinted from *L.R.*

for granted. It must, likewise, be poetical ;—that only, I mean, must be taken which is the permanent in our nature, which is common, and therefore deeply interesting to all ages. The events themselves are immaterial, otherwise than as the clothing and manifestation of the spirit that is working within. In this mode, the unity resulting from succession is destroyed, but is supplied by a unity of a higher order, which connects the events by reference to the workers, gives a reason for them in the motives, and presents men in their causative character. It takes, therefore, that part of real history which is the least known, and infuses a principle of life and organization into the naked facts, and makes them all the framework of an animated whole.

In [1] my happier days, while I had yet hope and onward-looking thoughts, I planned an historical drama of King Stephen, on the plan of Shakespeare's historical dramas. Indeed it would be desirable that some man of dramatic genius, to which I have no pretensions, should dramatize all those omitted by Shakespeare, as far down as Henry VII. inclusive. Henry VII. and Perkin Warbeck would make a most interesting drama. A few scenes of Marlowe's *Edward II.* might be preserved. After Henry VIII., the events are too well and distinctly known to be, without plump inverisimilitude, crowded together in one night's exhibition. Whereas, the history of our ancient kings—the events of them, I mean—are like stars in the sky : whatever the real interspaces may be, and however great, they seem close to each other. The stars, the events, strike us and remain in our eye, little modified by the difference of their dates.[2] An historic drama is, therefore, a collection of events borrowed from history, but connected together in respect to cause and time poetically, by dramatic fiction. It would be a fine national custom to act such a series of dramatic histories in

[1] At this point begins a new fragment from pp. 12, 13, 15 of Coleridge's note-book No. 18. The date of this part of the note-book is approximately 1810.

[2] Cf. i. 153 ; ii. 278.

orderly succession every Christmas holidays, and could not but tend to counteract that mock cosmopolitism, which under a positive term really implies nothing but a negation of, or indifference to, the particular love of our country. By its nationality must every nation retain its independence—nationality *quoad* the nation. Patriotism [a] is equal to the sense of individuality from each individual. There may come a higher virtue in both—in the just cosmopolitism [b]. . . [?] but never is this *possible* except by antecedence of the former. Better thus : nationality in each individual, *quoad* his country, is equal to the sense of individuality *quoad* himself—*i.e.*, subsensuous, central, inexclusive, etc.

Shakespeare has, therefore, included the most important part of nine reigns in his historical dramas : namely, King John ; Richard II. ; Henry IV. (two) ; Henry V. ; Henry VI. (three), including Edward IV. ; Richard III., including Edward V. ; Henry VIII. ;—in all ten plays. There remain, therefore, to be done, with exception of a single scene or two that should be adopted from Marlowe—eleven [c] reigns,—of which the first two appear the only unpromising subjects and must be formed of some wholly or mainly invented private stories that, however, could not have happened except in consequence of the events and measures of these reigns, and furnishing opportunity both to exhibit the manners and oppressions of the times, and to narrate dramatically the great events. If possible, the death of the two sovereigns, at least of the latter, should be made to have some influence on the finale of the story. All the rest are glorious subjects ; especially Henry I. (struggle between the men of arms and of letters, Becket), Stephen, Richard I., Edward II., and Henry VII.

[a] *Deleted, but apparently allowed to stand.*

[b] *The words omitted seem to be ' the latter In deity '* [?].

[c] *MS. ' eleven eleven.'*

[*Henry VI. Part I.*]

[I. i. 1-7. Bedford's speech :

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night !
Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky ;
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
That have consented unto Henry's death !
Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long !
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.]

Read aloud any two or three passages in blank verse even from Shakspeare's earliest dramas, as Love's Labour's Lost, or Romeo and Juliet; and then read in the same way this speech, with especial attention to the metre ; and if you do not feel the impossibility of the latter having been written by Shakspeare, all I dare suggest is, that you may have ears,—for so has another animal,—but an ear you cannot have, *me judice*.[1]

[*King John.*]

[I. i. 230-31.

Bast. James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave awhile ?
Gur. Good leave, good Philip.
Bast. Philip ! sparrow . . .

Theobald accepts Warburton's alteration of ' sparrow ' to ' spare me.']

O* true Warburton ! and the *sancta simplicitas* of honest dull Theobald's faith in him. Nothing can be more lively or characteristic than " Philip ? sparrow ! " Had Warburton read old Skelton's " Philip Sparrow," an exquisite and original poem, and no doubt popular in Shakespeare's time, even Warburton would scarcely have made so deep a plunge into the bathetic as to have deathified " sparrow " into " spare me."

[1] This note on *Henry VI.* is reprinted from *L.R.* It is there followed by a note on *Richard III.* which is here included (in two separate fragments) in the section " Two Lectures at Bristol." The reference is, as usual, altered to adapt it to the present edition.

[III. i. 104-05.

The grappling vigour and rough frown of war
Is *cold* in amity and painted peace.]

Coil'd ?*

[III. ii. 1-2.

Bast. Now, by my life, this day grows wondrous hot ;
Some airy devil hovers in the sky . . .

Theobald accepts Warburton's alteration of ' airy ' to ' fiery.']

I* prefer " airy " ; the word " devil " implies " fiery." One need only read the line, laying a full and strong emphasis on *devil*, to perceive the uselessness and tastelessness of Warburton's alteration.

Some airy *devil* hovers in the sky.

[*Richard II.*]

The transitional state between the epic and the drama is the historic drama. In the epic a pre-announced fate gradually adjusts and employs the will and the incidents as its instruments (ἕπομαι, *sequor* [1]), while the drama places fate and will in opposition [2] [and is] then most perfect when the victory of fate is obtained in consequence of imperfections in the opposing will, so as to leave the final impression that the fate itself is but a higher and more intelligent Will.

From* the length of the speeches, the number of long speeches, and that (with one exception) the events are all *historical*, presented in their *results*, not produced by acts seen, or that take place before the audience, this tragedy is ill-suited to our present large theatres. But in itself, and for the closet, I feel no hesitation in placing it the first and most admirable of all Shakespeare's *purely* historical plays. For the two parts of *Henry IV.* form a species of themselves,

[1] It scarcely seems probable that Coleridge cites these words to connect with them ' epic ' etymologically, but if this is not the case, his purpose seems rather obscure.

[2] Schlegel makes the same remark (*Werke*, v. 72), but probably no one would press this fact as an evidence of his influence.

which may be named the *mixt* drama. The distinction does not depend on the quantity of historical events compared with the fictions, for there is as much *history* in *Macbeth* as in *Richard*, but in the relation of the history to the plot. In the purely historical plays, the history *informs* the plot; in the mixt it *directs* it; in the rest, as *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, *Lear*, it subserves it.

But this Richard II. O God forbid that however unsuited for the stage yet even there it should fall dead on the hearts of jacobinized Englishmen. Then indeed *praeteriit gloria mundi*. The spirit of patriotic reminiscence is the all-permeating spirit of this drama.

It [1] is, perhaps, the most purely historical of Shakspeare's dramas. There are not in it, as in the others, characters introduced merely for the purpose of giving a greater individuality and realness, as in the comic parts of Henry IV., by presenting, as it were, our very selves. Shakspeare avails himself of every opportunity to effect the great object of the historic drama, that, namely, of familiarizing the people to the great names of their country, and thereby of exciting a steady patriotism, a love of just liberty, and a respect for all those fundamental institutions of social life, which bind men together: [2]

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by nature for herself,
> Against infection, and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a home,[a]
> Against the envy of less happier lands;

[a] *Read 'house.'*

[1] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.*

[2] This sentence and the quotation which follows are evidently H. N. C.'s revision of paragraph 3 in the manuscript lecture which I have reprinted from Coleridge's note-books, on i. 153. I suspect that the first two sentences are a development of paragraph 15, in the same lecture. (Cf. i. 156. Cf. also ii. 183, 279.)

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth, &c.
[II. i. 40-52.]

Add the famous passage in King John :—

This England never did, nor ever[a] shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.
Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them : nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.
[V. vii. 112-18.]

And it certainly seems that Shakspeare's historic dramas produced a very deep effect on the minds of the English people, and in earlier times they were familiar even to the least informed of all ranks, according to the relation of Bishop Corbett.[1] Marlborough, we know, was not ashamed to confess that his principal acquaintance with English history was derived from them ;[2] and I believe that a large part of the information as to our old names and achievements even now abroad is due, directly or indirectly, to Shakspeare.

In the very beginning, also,[3] is displayed that feature in Richard's character, which is never forgotten throughout the play—his attention to decorum, and high feeling of the kingly dignity. These anticipations show with what judgement Shakspeare wrote, and illustrate his care to connect the past and future, and unify them with the present by forecast and reminiscence.

[a] *Read* ' *never*.'

[1] This is the poet, Richard Corbet (1582-1635), bishop successively of Oxford and Norwich. The allusion is most conveniently found in the *Shakespeare Allusion Book*, i. 271. Or see Corbet's *Poems* (London, 1807), pp. 193-94.

[2] For this story, see Ferdinando Warner's *Remarks on the History of Fingal* (1762), p. 26. (Cf. ii. 278.)

[3] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.* ' Also ' is evidently H.N.C.'s interpolation to give a connection with the paragraph which he inserted immediately before. This inserted paragraph was the second from the manuscript lecture printed on i. 152 ff.

[I. i. 1-6.

K. Rich. Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster,
Hast thou, according to thy oath and bond,
Brought hither Henry Hereford thy bold son,
Here to make good the boisterous late appeal,
Which then our leisure would not let us hear,
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray ?]

The six opening lines of this play, each closing at the tenth syllable, [are] to be compared with the rhythmless metre of the verse in *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus* in order that the difference, yea, heterogeneity, may be felt, *etiam in simillimis primâ superficie*. Here the weight of each *word* supplies all the relief afforded by intercurrent verse : while the whole represents the *mood*.

[I. i. 20.

Many years of happy days befal.]

Compare [the metre] with [that of] line [a] [53, Act I. scene ii.] of the *Tempest*—

Twelve years [b] since, Miranda, twelve years [b] since.

Example of the involved instructions to the actors how to pronounce the lines.[1]

[I. i. 30-46.

First, heaven be the record to my speech !
In the devotion of a subject's love, etc.]

I remember even in the Sophoclean drama no more striking example of (the) τὸ πρέπον καὶ σεμνόν. Yea, the rhymes in the six last lines well express the *preconcertedness* of Bolingbroke's scheme, so beautifully contrasted with the vehemence and sincere irritation of Mowbray.

[a] *MS.* ' *l.* 30, *2nd Col. p.* 2.' [b] *Read* ' *year.*'

[1] I can make nothing of this. Probably a new sentence begins with ' instructions ' ; but if so, I can do nothing with the preceding phrase, which H. N. C. ignored.

[I. i. 41-46.

Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.
Once more, the more to aggravate the note
With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat ;
And wish, so please my sovereign, ere I move,
What my tongue speaks my right drawn sword may prove.]

These* six lines are suspicious. At all events they are out of place.[1]

[I. i. 104-06. Bolingbroke's speech.

Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries,
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,
To me for justice and rough chastisement.]

The δεινόν " to me," and so felt by Richard—

How high a pitch [his resolution soars !]—

and the *effect*—

As he is but my father's brother's son.

[I. i. 150-51. Mowbray's speech.

In haste whereof, most heartily I pray
Your highness to assign our trial day.]

Query. The occasional interspersion of rhymes and the more frequent winding up of a speech therewith—what purpose was this to answer ? In the earnest drama, I mean. Deliberateness ! An attempt as in Mowbray to collect himself and *be cool* at the close ? . I can see that in the following speeches the rhyme answers the purposes of the Greek chorus, and distinguish[es] the *general* truths from the passions of the dialogue ; but this is not exactly to *justify* the practice, which is infrequent in proportion to the excellence of Shakespeare's plays. One thing, however, is to be observed : they are *historical*, *known*, and so far *formal* characters, the reality of which is already a *fact*.

This [historical reality should be] dwelt upon as predominant in *Richard* [*II.*], the purest historic play—indeed, *John* and *Henry VIII.* excepted, the only *pure*.

[1] Pope considered these lines spurious.

This [1] should be borne in mind. The whole of this scene of the quarrel between Mowbray and Bolingbroke seems introduced for the purpose of showing by anticipation the characters of Richard and Bolingbroke. In the latter there is observable a decorous and courtly checking of his anger in subservience to a predetermined plan, especially in his calm speech after receiving sentence of banishment compared with Mowbray's unaffected lamentation. In the one, all is ambitious hope of something yet to come ; in the other it is desolation and a looking backward of the heart.

[I. ii. 37-41.

Gaunt. God's is the quarrel ; for God's substitute,
His deputy anointed in His sight,
Hath caused his death : the which, if wrongfully,
Let heaven revenge ; for I may never lift
An angry arm against His minister.]

Without the hollow extravagance of Beaumont and Fletcher's ultra-royalism, how carefully does Shakespeare acknowledge and reverence the eternal distinction between the mere individual and the symbolic or representative, on which all genial law, no less than patriotism, depends.

This second scene quite commencing, and anticipative of, the tone and character of the play at large.

Scene iii. compared with any of Shakespeare's fictitious dramas, or those founded [on] a history as unknown to his auditors generally as fiction, and nowhere this violent violation of the succession of time. Proof that the pure *historic* drama had its own laws.

[I. iii. 69. Bolingbroke to Gaunt.
O thou, the earthly author of my blood, etc.]

Bolingbroke's ambition.

[I. iii. 144-177.

Boling. Your will be done : this must my comfort be,
That sun that warms you here shall shine on me, etc.]

[1] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.* The first sentence is evidently H. N. C.'s transition.

Bolingbroke's ambitious hope, not yet shaped into definite plan, beautifully contrasted with Mowbray's desolation.

[I. iii. 156-58. Mowbray to the King.

A dearer merit, not so deep a maim
As to be cast forth in the common air,
Have I deserved at your highness' hands.]

"A dearer merit." Shakespeare's *instinctive* propriety in the choice of words.

[I. iii. 188-90. Richard to Mowbray and Bolingbroke.

Nor never by advised purpose meet
To plot, contrive, or complot any ill
'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land.]

Already the selfish weakness of Richard's character opens. Nothing which such minds so readily embrace, as indirect ways softened down to their quasi-consciences by *policy*, expedience, etc.

[I. iii. 207. Mowbray's speech.

. . . . all the world's my way.]

"The world was all before them"—Milton [*Paradise Lost*, XII. 646.]

[I. iii. 211-15.

K. Rich. . . . . Six frozen winters spent,
Return with welcome home from banishment.
Boling. How long a time lies in one little word!
Four lagging winters and four wanton springs
End in a word: such is the breath of kings.]

Admirable anticipation.

I. iv. A striking conclusion of a first act—letting the reader into the secret [of Richard's weakness], having before impressed the dignified and kingly manners of Richard, yet by well managed anticipations leading to the full gratification of the auditor's pleasure in his own penetration.

In [1] this scene a new light is thrown on Richard's character. Until now he has appeared in all the beauty of royalty; but

[1] This paragraph is interpolated from *L.R.*

here, as soon as he is left to himself, the inherent weakness of his character is immediately shown. It is a weakness, however, of a peculiar kind, not arising from want of personal courage, or any specific defect of faculty, but rather an intellectual femininenes which feels a necessity of ever leaning on the breast of others, and of reclining on those who are all the while known to be inferiors. To this must be attributed as its consequences all Richard's vices, his tendency to concealment, and his cunning, the whole operation of which is directed to the getting rid of present difficulties. Richard is not meant to be a debauchee; but we see in him that sophistry which is common to man, by which we can deceive our own hearts, and at one and the same time apologize for, and yet commit, the error. Shakspeare has represented this character in a very peculiar manner. He has not made him amiable with counterbalancing faults; but has openly and broadly drawn those faults without reserve, relying on Richard's disproportionate sufferings and gradually emergent good qualities for our sympathy; and this was possible, because his faults are not positive vices, but spring entirely from defect of character.

[II. i. 84. Gaunt's punning on his death-bed.[1]

K. Rich. Can sick men play so nicely with their names ?]

The passion that carries off its excess by play on words, as naturally and, therefore, as appropriately to drama, as by gesticulations, looks, or tones. This belonging to human nature as *human*, independent of associations and habits from any particular rank of life or mode of employment; and in this consists Shakespeare's vulgarisms, as in *Macbeth*,

The devil damn thee black, thou cream-faced loon ! etc.

[1] Schlegel also defends Gaunt's punning (*Werke*, vi. 194), but merely by reference to a similar occurrence in the *Ajax* of Sophocles. As Coleridge was always interested in puns and would probably have discussed this instance in a favorite play without the suggestion of Schlegel, the slight parallelism may surely be set down as due to coincidence. For similar comments by Coleridge on this point, cf. i. 153; ii. 184-85, 280.

It is (to play on Dante's words) in truth the NOBILE *volgare eloquenza*.

And here the death-bed feeling in which all things appear but as *puns* and equivocations.

No [1] doubt, something of Shakspeare's punning must be attributed to his age, in which direct and formal combats of wit were a favourite pastime of the courtly and accomplished. It was an age more favourable, upon the whole, to vigour of intellect than the present, in which a dread of being thought pedantic dispirits and flattens the energies of original minds. But independently of this, I have no hesitation in saying that a pun, if it be congruous with the feeling of the scene, is not only allowable in the dramatic dialogue, but oftentimes one of the most effectual intensives of passion.

And [2] then again his [York's] effort to retrieve himself in abstract loyalty, even at the heavy price of the loss of his son. This species of accidental and adventitious weakness is brought into parallel with Richard's continually increasing energy of thought, and as constantly diminishing power of acting ;—and thus it is Richard that breathes a harmony and a relation into all the characters of the play.

[II. i. 144-45.

King. R. Right, you say true : as Hereford's love, so his ;
As theirs, so mine ; and all be as it is.]

The depth of this, compared with the first scene—

How high a pitch [his resolution soars !]

[II. ii. 5-13.

Queen. To please the king I did ; to please myself
I cannot do it ; yet I know no cause
Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,
Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest
As my sweet Richard : yet again, methinks,

[1] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.*

[2] This paragraph is also reprinted from *L.R.* The first four words are evidently H. N. C.'s connectives with the passages which he had interpolated just before. I have capitalized the first word. These passages inserted by H.N.C. were the fifth and ninth paragraphs of the lecture at Bristol. (Cf. i. 153-54.)

Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb,
Is coming towards me, and my inward soul
With nothing trembles : at some thing it grieves,
More than with parting from my lord the king.]

It is clear that Shakespeare never meant to represent Richard II. as a vulgar debauchee, but merely [as a man with] a wantonness in feminine shew, feminine *friendism*, intensely woman-like love of those immediately about him, mistaking the delight of being loved by him for a love for him.

Tender superstitions [are] encouraged by Shakespeare. *Terra incognita* of the human mind : and how sharp a line of distinction he commonly draws between these obscure forecastings of general experience in each individual, and the vulgar errors of mere tradition.[1]

[V. v. 81-85.

K. Rich. Rode he on Barbary ? Tell me, gentle friend,
How went he under him ?
Groom. So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground.
K. Rich. So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back !
That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand.]

The affecting incident of the very horse, as realizing.[2]

I [3] would once more remark upon the exalted idea of the only true loyalty developed in this noble and impressive play. We have neither the rants of Beaumont and Fletcher, nor the sneers of Massinger;—the vast importance of the personal character of the sovereign is distinctly enounced, whilst, at the same time, the genuine sanctity which surrounds him is attributed to, and grounded on, the position in which he

[1] The conclusion of this sentence, " and how . . . tradition," is reprinted from *L.R.* H. N. C. continues with paragraphs 10-15 of the Bristol lecture on Richard II. (Cf. i. 154-56.)

[2] Before and after this note H. N. C. printed his revisions of the paragraphs numbered 15 and 16 in the Bristol lecture on Richard II. (Cf. i. 156.)

[3] The two following paragraphs are reprinted from *L.R.* I suspect that the second paragraph never had in Coleridge's mind any connection with the first or with the Shakespearean criticism, but is simply a passage from the note-books for which H. N. C. wished to find a reasonably appropriate place.

stands as the convergence and exponent of the life and power of the state.

[The great end of the body politic appears to be to humanize, and assist in the progressiveness of, the animal man ;—but the problem is so complicated with contingencies as to render it nearly impossible to lay down rules for the formation of a state. And should we be able to form a system of government, which should so balance its different powers as to form a check upon each, and so continually remedy and correct itself, it would, nevertheless, defeat its own aim ;—for man is destined to be guided by higher principles, by universal views, which can never be fulfilled in this state of existence,—by a spirit of progressiveness which can never be accomplished, for then it would cease to be. Plato's Republic is like Bunyan's Town of Man-Soul,—a description of an individual, all of whose faculties are in their proper subordination and inter-dependence ; and this it is assumed may be the prototype of the state as one great individual. But there is this sophism in it, that it is forgotten that the human faculties, indeed, are parts and not separate things ; but that you could never get chiefs who were wholly reason, ministers who were wholly understanding, soldiers all wrath, labourers all concupiscence, and so on through the rest. Each of these partakes of, and interferes with, all the others.]

Richard II.[1]

1. The theory of the [historical] plays : it is the conversion of the epic into the dramatic. Difference between the epic and dramatic : both [are] composed of the same elements, free will and fate, but in inverse proportion. Comparison

[1] This manuscript is one of those from E. H. C.'s transcripts of Coleridge's note-books. These notes were prepared for the fifth lecture of 1813 at Bristol, for which cf. ii. 277-85. The references are page-references to Rann's edition of Shakespeare, not line-references, and are, therefore, too long for complete quotation, even if that were in other regards desirable. Both the newspaper reports of this lecture and the marginalia give many of the quotations necessary For these reasons, the editor has interpolated fewer quotations from the passages mentioned than in other cases, though he has sought to include all which might be considered essential.

between the historic drama and the constellation.[1] Advantage to Englishmen [of arousing patriotism].

2. The judgement with which Shakespeare always in his first scenes prepares, and yet how naturally and with what a concealment of art, for the catastrophe. How he presents the *germ* of all the after events, in Richard's insincerity, partiality, arbitrariness, favoritism, and in the proud, tempestuous temperament of his barons.

3. [Shakespeare] avails himself of every opportunity to realize the great use of the historic drama, familiarizing men to the great names of the country, and exciting patriotism. [See Gaunt's praise of England,[2] II. i. 40-58.] [a]

4. Defence of Shakespeare's puns and plays on words. The natural tendency of the mind immersed in one strong feeling to connect that feeling with every sight and object around it, especially when opposed and the word addressed to it [in] any way repugnant to the feeling. Difference between commonplace and philosophical criticism. [See [3] Gaunt's punning on his own name,[b] II. i. 72-87.]

5. The admirable character of York. Religious loyalty struggling with a deep grief and indignation at the king's vices and follies ; and adherence to his word once given, in spite of all, even the most natural, feelings.

6. Shakespeare's reverence for whatever arises out of our moral nature, even in the guise of superstition ; no contemptuous reasoning away the feelings of men. [See [c] the queen's fearful presentiments,[4] II. ii. 1-40.]

7. Character of Bolingbroke. How Shakespeare makes one play introductory to another—a sufficient confutation of

[a] *MS.* '389.' *Page-reference to vol. iii. of Rann's edition of Shakespeare* (1786).

[b] *MS.* '390.' *Page-reference, as above.*

[c] *MS.* '399.' *Page-reference, as above.*

[1] For developments of this obscure comparison, cf. i. 139 ; ii. 278.

[2] For the quotation, cf. i. 143-44. (Cf. also ii. 183, 279.)

[3] For similar remarks, cf. i. 149 ; ii. 184-85. For the quotation, cf. ii. 280.

[4] For the quotation, cf. i. 150-51.

his [being] " immortal in his own despite." [1] So in *Henry VI.* the whole of Gloster's speeches are written by Shakespeare, evidently with a view to his favourite character, Richard III. So here, Henry IV. [is prepared for] in Bolingbroke. [See [a] Bolingbroke's dialogue with Northumberland and young Harry Percy,[2] II. iii. 1-56.]

8. Comparison [of Bolingbroke] with Marius when on his arrival from exile in his mean robes the consular investments were brought him.[3] [See [b] the affected humility of Bolingbroke, II. iii. 59-61 :

> Welcome, my lords. I wot your love pursues
> A banish'd traitor : all my treasury
> Is yet but unfelt thanks, etc.]

9. York's character. The weakness of old age and the overwhelmingness of circumstance struggling with his sense of duty ; [4] and the function of both exhibited in boldness of words and feebleness in act. How (like all Shakespeare's plays) the characters are connected, all by likeness or contrast.

10. How beautifully the amiable part of Richard's character is brought forward. [See [c] III. iii. 62-100 and [5]] his

[a] *MS.* ' 404.'

[b] *MS.* ' 405.' *On the authority of the Bristol newspaper report, I have chosen the references above. Page* 405 *includes lines* 45-73, *Cambridge edition.*

[c] *MS.* ' 422.'

[1] Pope's comment on Shakespeare in his *Imitation of the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace*, 71-72 :

> For Gain, not Glory, wing'd his roving flight,
> And grew immortal in his own despite.

(Cf. i. 219.)

[2] Probably Coleridge has especial reference to the ironical contrast of later events in *Henry IV.* with such promises of Bolingbroke to Percy as those in this scene :

> And as my fortune ripens with thy love,
> It shall be still thy true love's recompense.

[3] The reference is to Plutarch's life of Marius.

[4] " Notice this." Coleridge's note.

[5] Coleridge probably refers particularly to York's speech :

> Yet looks he like a king : behold, his eye,
> As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth
> Controlling majesty : alack, alack, for woe
> That any harm should stain so fair a show !

queen's "my sweet Richard"; his intense love of his country, yet still as a feminine feeling, [in [a] the scene of his landing, III. ii. 4-11.

> .... I weep for joy
> To stand upon my kingdom once again.
> Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
> Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs:
> As a long-parted mother with her child
> Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting,
> So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,
> And do thee favours with my royal hands.]

11. Constant overflow of feelings; incapability of controlling them; waste of that energy which should be reserved for action in the passion and effort of resolves and menaces, and the consequent exhaustion, [as [b] in the threats of III. ii. 36-62] and throughout.

> [So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,
> . . . . . .
> Shall see us rising in our throne, the east,
> His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
> Not able to endure the sight of day,
> But self-affrighted tremble at his sin.
> . . . . . .
> For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd
> To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown,
> God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
> A glorious angel . . . III. ii. 47-61.]

Read the whole scene. Above all, the seeking refuge in despair, so characteristic of inward weakness [III.[c] ii. 144-177.

> .... Of comfort no man speak:
> Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs; etc.]

Exhaustion counterfeiting quiet; and yet the habit of kingliness, the effect of flatteries from infancy, constantly producing a sort of *wordy* courage that betrays the inward impotence.

[a] *MS.* '412.' [b] *MS.* '413.' [c] *MS.* '416-17.'

12. The consequent alternation of unmanly despair and of ungrounded hope ; and throughout the rapid transition from one feeling to its opposite, [as [a] in the rest of this scene, III. ii.].

13. The fine struggle of haughty sense of power and ambition with the necessity of dissimulation in Bolingbroke's speech [III.[b] iii. 31-61.

> Henry Bolingbroke
> On both his knees doth kiss King Richard's hand, etc.]

14. The character of Richard—how admirably carried [out] and developed in [the rest of this scene,[c] III. iii. 62-209].

15. Shakespeare's judgement in giving reality, individual life, by the introduction of *accidents* in his historic plays, and thereby making them drama, not history, as in the gardener,[1] [III. iv.[d]]. And when comic (Harry IV.) ; when not (Henry V.).

16. York's character continued [in [e] the accusation of his own son's treachery, V. ii., iii] ; and Shakespeare's anticipation [of [e] *Henry IV.* in the description of Prince Hal's dissipations, V. iii. 1-22].

17. Preparation of his favourite characters [Prince Hal].

> Can no man tell [f] of my unthrifty son ? [g]

[a] *MS.* '414-419.' *In the manuscript, paragraph* 12 *immediately follows the first sentence of paragraph* 11. *The rest of paragraph* 11 *is an afterthought marked for the position here given it. Coleridge then numbers* '13' *as* '12' *and goes on with the incorrect numbers.*

[b] *MS.* '420-421.' [c] *MS.* '422-426.' [d] *MS.* '428-430.'

[e] *MS.* '*continued and* 448-49.' *The page-references apply both to* '*York's character*' *and to* '*Shakespeare's anticipation.*'

[f] *Rann's reading, as of Ff.* Q_5. Q_1 Q_2 Q_3 Q_4 *and Cambridge editors,* '*tell me.*'

[g] *MS.* '*son* 449.'

[1] Here H. N. C. interpolated the following sentence : " How beautiful an islet of repose—a melancholy repose, indeed—is this scene with the Gardener and his Servant."

[*Henry IV. Part I.*]

[I. i. 5-6.

No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood.]

It* is a most obscure passage; but I think Theobald's interpretation right, viz., that "thirsty entrance" means the dry penetrability or bibulous drought of the soil. The obscurity of the passage is of the Shakespearian sort.[1]

[II. i. 20. . . . . breeds fleas like a loach.]

I rather take it for a misprint or perhaps a provincial pronounciation for "leech"; *i.e.*, blood-suckers. Had it been gnats, instead of fleas, there might have been some sense, tho' small probability, in Warburton's suggestion of the Scottish "loch." But possibly "loach," or "lutch," may be some lost word for dove-cote, or poultry-lodge, notorious for breeding fleas. In Steevens' and in my reading, it should have been "loaches," or "leeches," in the plural—tho' I don't know either. I think I have heard anglers speak of "trouts like a salmon."

[III. i. 211.

Glend. Nay, if you melt, then will she run mad.]

This 'nay' so to be dwelt on in speaking, as to be equivalent to a dissyllable $-\smile$, is characteristic of the solemn Glendower: but the imperfect line

She bids you
Upon the wanton rushes lay you down,[a] etc.

is one of those fine hair-strokes of exquisite judgment peculiar to Shakspeare;—thus detaching the Lady's speech, and giving it the individuality and entireness of a little poem, while he draws attention to it.[2]

[a] *Qq, one line*; *Ff, two lines, as above.* '*Upon*' *is Steevens's emendation for* '*on*' *in the original texts. The Cambridge editors read* '*on*.'

[1] At this point H. N. C. interpolated a note on Falstaff from the Bristol lectures, which may be found on i. 234.

[2] This note is from *L.R.* The reference has been adapted to the forms used in the present edition.

[*Henry IV., Part II.*]

[II. ii. 144-46, 160.

Prince. Sup any women with him ?

Page. None, my lord, but old Mistress Quickly and Mistress Doll Tearsheet.

. . . . . .

Prince. . . . . This Doll Tearsheet should be some road.]

This* passage might suggest a *quaere* whether Shakespeare did not name this street-walker Doll Tear-street—*terere viam* [*stratam*]. Else what means the " some road " ? [Theobald edition.]

Strange that the so evident misreading of " Tear-sheet " instead of " Tear-street," *i.e.*, street-walker, *terere stratam* (*viam*) should have escaped the editors. To what other word could Prince Henry's remark apply—

This Doll Tear-street should be some *road.*

Several of our roads are called *streets* to this day. [Stockdale edition.]

[III. i. 30-31. King Henry's speech.

Then happy low, lie down !
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.]

I* know no argument by which to persuade any one of my opinion, or rather of my feeling ; but yet I cannot help *feeling* that " Happy *low-lie-down* " is either a proverbial expression or the burthen of some old song, and means, " Happy the man who lays himself down on his straw bed or chaff pallet on the ground or floor."

[III. ii. 275-76. Shallow's speech.

' rah, tah, tah,' would a' say ;
' bounce ' would a' say.

Theobald notes a similar passage from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (V. i.) as a sneer at Shakespeare.]

That* Beaumont and Fletcher have more than once been guilty of sneering at their great master cannot, I fear, be

denied ; but the passage here quoted is an *imitation*. If it be chargeable with any fault, it is with plagiary, not with sarcasm.

[IV. i. 94-96.

Arch. My brother general the commonwealth,
To brother born an household cruelty.
I make my quarrel in particular.]

[In*] spite of M. Warburton there is surely either a corruption here or an omission of a line, or this line is interpolated. Perhaps, a single *'s* to " commonwealth " might give a sense—

the commonwealth's
(To brother born an household) cruelty, etc.

[*Henry V.*]

[I. ii. 125-27.

West. They know your grace hath cause and means and might ;
So hath your highness ; never king of England
Had nobles richer and more loyal subjects.]

Does* " grace " mean the king's own peculiar domains and legal revenue, and " highness " his feudal rights in the military services of his nobles ? I have sometimes thought it possible that the words " grace " and " cause " might have been transposed in the copying, or printing—

They know your cause hath grace, etc.

What Theobald meant, I cannot guess. To me his pointing makes the passage still more obscure. I should recite the lines dramatically—

They know, your grace hath cause and means and might :—
So hath your highness—never King of England
Had nobles richer or [a] more loyal subjects—

viz., a break off from the grammar and natural order from earnestness, in order to give the meaning more passionately.

[a] *Read 'and.'*

[I. ii. 175.

Yet that is but a crush'd necessity.

Ff. *crush'd* ; Qq. *curst* ; Theobald, accepting Warburton's conjecture, ' *scus'd* ']. Either* " crash " for " crass," from *crassus*, clumsy ; or " curt," defective, imperfect : " curs'd " would be better than " 'scus'd."

This* speech belongs, I doubt not, to Canterbury, not Exeter, and [was] altered for and by the actors.

[IV. iii. 38-39. King Henry's speech.

We would not die in that man's company
That fears his fellowship to die with us.]

Query : " We would not *live* in that man's company " ?

[IV. v. 1-6.

Con. O diable !
Orl. O Seigneur ! le jour est perdu, tout est perdu !
Dau. Mort de ma vie ! all is confounded, all !
Reproach and everlasting shame
Sits mocking in our plumes. O méchante fortune !
Do not run away.]

Ludicrous* as these introductory scraps of French appear, so instantly followed by good nervous mother-English, yet they are judicious, and produce the impression Shakespeare intended—a sudden *feeling* struck at once, on the ears as well as eyes of the audience, that " here come the *French*, the baffled *French* braggards ! " And this will appear still more judicious, when we reflect on the scanty apparatus of distinguishing dresses in Shakespeare's tiring-room. S. T. C.

SECTION II

LECTURE-NOTES AND OTHER FRAGMENTS

LECTURE-NOTES AND OTHER FRAGMENTS

[*Definition of Poetry*]

Poetry [1] is not the proper antithesis to prose, but to science. Poetry is opposed to science, and prose to metre. The proper and immediate object of science is the acquirement, or communication, of truth; the proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of immediate pleasure.[2] This definition is useful; but as it would include novels and other works of fiction, which yet we do not call poems, there must be some additional character by which poetry is not only divided from opposites, but likewise distinguished from disparate, though similar, modes of composition. Now how is this to be effected? In animated prose, the beauties of nature, and the passions and accidents of human nature, are often expressed in that natural language which the contemplation of them would suggest to a pure and benevolent mind; yet still neither we nor the writers call such a work a poem, though no work could deserve that name which did not include all this, together with something else. What is this? It is that pleasurable emotion, that peculiar state and degree

[1] This paragraph is reprinted from *L.R.*

[2] Cf. this whole definition with *B.L.* ch. xiv. and with the second, third, and fourth lectures of 1811-12. The antitheses of the first two sentences are to be found in Wordsworth's Preface to *L.B.* The source of both Coleridge and Wordsworth seems to be the striking article by "Enquirer" in the *Monthly Magazine*, ii. (1796), 453 ff., especially p. 456. "Enquirer" objects to the antithesis of prose and poetry and suggests instead an antithesis of verse and prose; of poetry (speaking the language of fancy and passion) and philosophy (speaking the language of reason). Professor Arthur Beatty (*William Wordsworth*, 2nd ed., p. 56, n. 1) says that "Enquirer" was the Rev. William Enfield, LL.D., Minister of the Octagon Dissenting Congregation of Norwich. Coleridge was a reader of the *Monthly Magazine* and also a contributor. *Letters*, pp. 179, 185, 197, 251, 310, 317.

of excitement, which arises in the poet himself in the act of composition ;—and in order to understand this, we must combine a more than ordinary sympathy with the objects, emotions, or incidents contemplated by the poet, consequent on a more than common sensibility, with a more than ordinary activity of the mind in respect of the fancy and the imagination. Hence is produced a more vivid reflection of the truths of nature and of the human heart, united with a constant activity modifying and correcting these truths by that sort of pleasurable emotion, which the exertion of all our faculties gives in a certain degree ; but which can only be felt in perfection under the full play of those powers of mind, which are spontaneous rather than voluntary, and in which the effort required bears no proportion to the activity enjoyed. This is the state which permits the production of a highly pleasurable whole, of which each part shall also communicate for itself a distinct and conscious pleasure ; and hence arises the definition, which I trust is now intelligible, that poetry, or rather a poem, is a species of composition, opposed to science, as having intellectual pleasure for its object, and as attaining its end by the use of language natural to us in a state of excitement,—but distinguished from other species of composition, not excluded by the former criterion, by permitting a pleasure from the whole consistent with a consciousness of pleasure from the component parts ;—and the perfection of which is, to communicate from each part the greatest immediate pleasure compatible with the largest sum of pleasure on the whole. This, of course, will vary with the different modes of poetry ;—and that splendour of particular lines, which would be worthy of admiration in an impassioned elegy, or a short indignant satire, would be a blemish and proof of vile taste in a tragedy or an epic poem.

Milton,[1] in three incidental words, has implied all which

[1] Here begins a fragment from pp. 15-16 of Coleridge's note-book No. 25. This fragment was indorsed by Coleridge " For a future Lecture on the Moderns." Note-book No. 25 is a miscellany, beginning about 1805, according to its indorsement, and continuing for a dozen years or more. I believe that the fragmentary lectures from that source,

for the purposes of more distinct apprehension, which at first must be slow-paced in order to be distinct, I have endeavoured to develop in a precise and strictly adequate definition. Speaking of poetry, he says (as in a parenthesis), which is " simple, sensuous, passionate." [1] How awful is the power of words! fearful often in their consequences when merely felt, not understood; but most awful when both felt and understood! Had these three words only been properly understood and present in the minds of general readers, not only almost a library of false poetry would have been either precluded or still-born, but, what is of more consequence, works truly excellent, and capable of enlarging the understanding, warming and purifying the heart, and placing in the centre of the whole being the germs of noble and manlike actions, would have been the common diet of the intellect instead. For the first condition—namely, simplicity,—while it distinguishes poetry from the arduous processes of science, laboring towards an end not yet arrived at, and supposes a smooth and finished road, on which the reader is to walk onward easily, with streams murmuring by his side, and trees and flowers and human dwellings to make his journey as delightful as the object of it is desirable, instead of having to toil with the pioneers and painfully

which are listed on ii. 22, all belong to the lectures of 1808. The chief external evidence is a date, 1808, on a later page, p. 39. But the internal evidence in one of the fragments is still stronger. (Cf. i. 253, and notes.)

[1] " Poetry . . . being less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate [than rhetoric]." Milton's essay " Of Education," *Prose Works* (Bohn ed.), iii. 473. Though often quoted as a definition of poetry, this famous phrase is rather a comparison of poetry and rhetoric. Coleridge's connection with the word ' sensuous ' is worthy of notice. The word was apparently coined by Milton to avoid the connotations of ' sensual.' The coinage was not, however, adopted by other writers until Coleridge revived it and permanently established it in the language. In his essays on the fine arts, Coleridge himself speaks of this old use of the word not only by Milton himself but also by " many others of our elder writers." *B.L.* ii. 230. The *New English Dictionary*, however, records no other use of the word in Milton's time. For other references to this ' definition,' cf. Coleridge's first lecture at Bristol (ii. 260), and his third essay on the fine arts (*B.L.* ii. 230).

make the road on which others are to travel, precludes every affectation [1] and morbid peculiarity ;—the second condition, sensuousness, insures that framework of objectivity, that definiteness and articulation of imagery, and that modification of the images themselves, without which poetry becomes flattened into mere didactics of practice or evaporated into a hazy, unthoughtful, day-dreaming ; and the third condition, passion, provides that neither thought nor imagery shall be simply objective, but that the *passio vera* of humanity shall warm and animate both.

To return, however, to the previous definition, this most general and distinctive character of a poem originates in the poetic genius itself ; and though it comprises whatever can with any propriety be called a poem, (unless that word be a mere lazy synonyme for a composition in metre) it yet becomes a just, and not merely discriminative, but full and adequate, definition of poetry in its highest and most peculiar sense, only so far as the distinction still results from the poetic genius, which sustains and modifies the emotions, thoughts, and vivid representations of the poem by the energy without effort of the poet's own mind,—by the spontaneous activity of his imagination and fancy, and by whatever else with these reveals itself in the balancing and reconciling of opposite or discordant qualities, sameness with difference, a sense of novelty and freshness with old or customary objects, a more than usual state of emotion with more than usual order, self-possession and judgment with enthusiasm and vehement feeling,—and which, while it blends and harmonizes the natural and the artificial, still subordinates art to nature, the manner to the matter, and our admiration of the poet to our sympathy with the images, passions, characters, and incidents of the poem [2] :—

[1] Here ends the fragment from note-book No. 25. I have omitted after 'affectation' Coleridge's note, 'and so on.' H. N. C. evidently had the continuation of this note, for the rest of the section, which is reprinted from *L.R.*, bears on the face of it the evidence of perfect authenticity.

[2] The verses which follow come from Sir John Davies, *Nosce Teipsum*, sect. iv. "That the Soul is a Spirit." Cf. ii. 98-99, and *B.L.* ii. 12-13.

Doubtless, this could not be, but that she turns
Bodies to *spirit* [a] by sublimation strange,
As fire converts to fire the things it burns—
As we our *food* [b] into our nature change !

From their gross matter she abstracts *their* [c] forms,
And draws a kind of quintessence from things,
Which to her proper nature she transforms
To bear them light on her celestial wings !

Thus [d] doth she, when from *individual states* [e]
She doth abstract the universal kinds,
Which then reclothed in diverse names and fates
Steal access thro' our senses to our minds. [f]

[*Greek Drama.*[1]]

This lecture is composed entirely of patches from different lectures by Schlegel, freely translated or paraphrased by Coleridge. It was, of course, legitimate for Coleridge to draw from various sources for his oral lectures, and careful acknowledgments of his sources, although desirable, would by no means be considered necessary to escape the charge of plagiarism. In published books the case is different, and this lecture ought not to be included in Coleridge's works at all, if it had not in a sense established its right to a place there by long possession. We do not know whether Coleridge would have published the lecture himself. As he was sensitive on the matter of suspected plagiarism from Schlegel, it may well be doubted.

We know the subjects of Coleridge's lectures of 1811-12, the Bristol lectures of 1813, the lectures of 1818, and of 1818-19. Greek drama was discussed at length in none of these, though it was touched upon in the sixth lecture of 1813 at Bristol. So far as we know the subject of this lecture was not included in any of the later (1814) courses at Bristol ; and the indebtedness

[a] *Read 'spirits.'* [b] *Read 'meats.'* [c] *Read 'the.'*
[d] *Read 'This.'* [e] *Read 'things particular.'*
[f] *These two lines are substituted by Coleridge for the following :*
'Which bodiless and immaterial are,
And can be lodged but only in our minds.'

[1] This lecture is from Egerton MS. 2800, ff. 10-14.

to Schlegel excludes it from the possibility of use in 1808. The watermark, moreover, is 1810.

The syllabus of the lectures at the Surrey Institution (1812-13) suggests that this material may have been used for part of the fourth lecture; and H. C. Robinson's report of the 1812 lectures at Willis's Rooms makes it fairly certain that Coleridge used these notes for his fourth lecture, perhaps for parts of his second and third.

To print the parallel passages from Schlegel in the notes would require more space than the lecture itself occupies. It has been thought better to use the notes for a detailed analysis of Coleridge's indebtedness. Miss Anna Augusta von Helmholtz (Mrs. von Helmholtz-Phelan) has printed this lecture in parallel columns with the passages from Schlegel from which it is taken. *The Indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907, pp. 322-35.

It is truly singular that Plato (whose philosophy and religion were but exotic at home and a mere opposition to the finite in all things—a prophet and anticipator of the Protestant Christian aera) should in the Dialogue of the Banquet give a justification of our Shakespeare. He relates, namely, that when all the other guests had either dispersed or fallen to sleep, Socrates only, together with Aristophanes and Agathon, had remained awake, and while he drank with them out of a large goblet, had compelled them, tho' most reluctant, to confess, that it was the business of one and the same genius to excel in tragic and comic poetry, and that the tragic poet ought at the same time to contain in himself the powers of comedy.[1] As this was repugnant to all the theory of the ancients, and opposite to all their experience, it is evident that Plato had fixed the eye of his contemplation on the essentials of the drama, abstracted from the forms of age and country. In another passage, he even adds the reason, that opposites illustrate each other's nature, and in the struggle draw forth the strength of the combatants, and, as it were, display the conqueror as sovereign even on the territories of the rival power.[2]

[1] *Symposium*, 223.

[2] *Laws*, 816. Except for the first sentence, this paragraph is a free translation from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 179-80).

Yet in one point the comedy of Shakespeare and that of the old comedy coincide—that it is ideal. Nothing can more forcibly exemplify the separative spirit of the Greek arts, than their comedy as opposed to their tragedy. But as immediate struggle of contraries supposes an arena common to both, so both were alike ideal; that is, the comedy of Aristophanes rose to as great a distance above the ludicrous of real life, as the tragedy of Sophocles above its tragic events and passions.[1] All else are as contraries: tragedy is poetry in its deepest earnest—comedy, poetry in unlimited jest. Earnestness consists in the direction and convergence of all the powers of the soul to one aim, and the voluntary limitation of its activity in consequence; the opposite, therefore, in the apparent abandonment of all definite aim or end, the removal of all bounds in the exercise of the mind, and attains its real end, as an entire contrast, most perfectly, the greater the display of intellectual wealth squandered in the wantonness of sport without an object, the more [the] life and vivacity in the creations of arbitrary will.[2]

The later comedy [even [a]] where it was really comic, is doubtless likewise more [comic, the more] free it appears from any fixed aim. Mis[understandings of intention] fruitless struggles of absurd passion, [contradictions of temper], and situations, . . . [?] but [b] still the form of the representation . . . [?] itself, is serious; that is, it proceeds according to settled laws as much as regular tragedy itself, uses the same means of art to a different purpose. But in the old comedy the very form itself is whimsical, the whole work is one great jest, that comprehends a world of jests within it, among which each maintains its own place, without seeming to concern itself in what relation it may stand to its

[a] *The interpolations in this line and those immediately following are from L.R. A large stain which blurs the manuscript at this point may not have been present when H. N. C. used this material.*

[b] *MS.* ' *situations, and the more all . . .* [?] *but.*'

[1] The ideas, but not the exact words, of these two sentences are from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 181-82).

[2] These two sentences are a free translation from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 181).

fellows. In short, in the tragedy the constitution is monarchical, but such as it existed in elder Greece, limited by laws and therefore more venerable; all willingly adapt and submit to the majesty of the heroic scepter. The comedy, on the contrary, is poetry in its most democratic form; and it is fundamental principle with it, rather to risk all the confusion of anarchy, than to destroy the independence and privileges of its individual citizens. Place, verse, characters, even single thoughts, conceits, and allusions,—each turns on the pivot of its own free will.[1]

The tragic poet idealizes his characters by giving to the spiritual part of our nature a more decided preponderance over the animal cravings and impulses than is met with in real life. The comic poet idealizes his by making the animal the governing power and the intellectual the mere instrument.[2] But as tragedy is not a collection of virtues and perfections, but takes care only that the vices and imperfections should arise from the passions, errors, and prejudices which arise out of the soul, so neither is comedy a mere crowd of vices and follies, but whatever qualities it represents, even tho' they are in a certain sense amiable, it still displays them as having their origin in some dependence on our lower nature, accompanied with a defect in true freedom of spirit and self-subsistence, and subject to that unconnection and contradictions of the inward Being, to which all folly is owing.

The ideal of earnest poetry consists in the union and harmonious melting down, the fusion of the sensual into the spiritual, of the man as an animal into man as a power of reason and self-government, which we have represented to us most clearly in the plastic art, or statuary, where the perfection of form is an outward symbol of inward perfection and the most elevated ideas, where the body is wholly penetrated by the soul, and spiritualized even to a state of glory.

[1] This paragraph is a very free translation, amounting to rewriting, of Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 181-82).

[2] The first two sentences of this paragraph are a paraphrase of Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 183). The third is a free translation (*Werke*, v. 182).

Like a perfectly transparent body, the matter, in its own nature darkness, becomes [altogether a [a]] vehicle and fixture of light, a means of developing [its] beauties [?] and unfolding its unity into all its . . . [?] wealth of various colors without disturb[ance ?] . . . [?] or division of parts.[1]

The sportive ideal, on the contrary, subsists in the perfect harmony and concord of the higher nature with the animal, as with its ruling principle, its acknowledged regent. The understanding and practical reason are represented as the willing slaves of the senses and appetites, and the passions arising out of them. Hence we may admit the appropriateness to the old comedy, as a work of defined art, of allusions, descriptions, etc., which morality can never justify—and only with reference to the author himself, and only as being the effect rather [than] the cause of the circumstances in which he wrote, can consent even to palliate. Even the introduction of their comic convention [?] under the names and with the portrait-masks of living contemporaries is but a part of the general contrast, and opposed to the heroic and mythologic, wholly or half fabulous, personages to which tragedy confined herself.[2]

[The old comedy] rose to its perfection in Aristophanes and died in him with the freedom of Greece.[3] Then arose a species of drama, more fitly called dramatic entertainment than comedy, but of which our modern comedy (Shakespeare altogether excepted) is the descendant. Euripides had already brought tragedy lower down and by many steps nearer to the real world, and the passionate admiration which Menander and Philemon expressed for him, and their open

[a] *This interpolation and that following are from L.R. A large stain has obliterated every trace of the words indicated, as in the case of the omitted words of the next lines.*

[1] The first sentence of this paragraph is a free translation from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 183). The second sentence is Coleridge's.

[2] The first two sentences of this paragraph are a free translation from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 183). The third summarizes one of Schlegel's paragraphs (*Werke*, v. 183). The fourth is Coleridge's, though Schlegel suggests similar ideas.

[3] This sentence sums up nearly three pages of Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 187-89).

avowals that he was their great master, entitle us to consider it [the new comedy] as a middle species between tragedy and comedy—not tragi-comedy, a thing of heterogeneous parts, but a complete whole founded on principles of its own.[1] Throughout we find it distinguishing itself from tragedy, not, as the genuine old comedy, contrasting and opposing. If the tragedy carried the thoughts into the mythologic world in order to raise the emotions, fears, and hopes which convince the inmost heart that their final cause is not to be discovered in the limits of mere mortal life [and] force us into a presentiment, however dim, of a state in which those struggles of inward free will with outward necessity, which form the true subject of the tragedian, shall be reconciled and solved [2]—the entertainment, or middle [a] comedy, remained within the circle of experience. Instead of the tragic destiny it introduced the power of chance ; and even in the few fragments of Menander and Philemon [now remaining] we find many exclamations and reflections concerning chance and [fortune, as in the [b]] tragic poets concerning destiny. In tragedy [the moral] law, [either as obeyed] or violated, above all consequences—its own main[tenance or violation con]stituting the most important of all consequences—[forms the ground ; the new come]dy, [is based on] prudence or imprudence, enlightened or misled self-love. The whole moral system of the entertainment, exactly like that of *fable*, (here a hint concerning its unfitness for children) consists in rules of prudence. With exquisite conciseness and at the same time with exhaustive fullness of sense an old critic said that tragedy was the flight or elevation of life, comedy (that of Menander) its arrangement or ordonnance. Add to these

[a] *Read 'new.'*

[b] *Here begins another series of five interpolations from L.R. to supply words obliterated by a stain.*

[1] This sentence is a paraphrase of two sentences from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 144).

[2] The first part of this sentence is an eloquent development of ideas of Schlegel which may be found in various passages (*Werke*, v. 220 ; vi. 17). The remainder of the sentence and the four sentences following are a free paraphrase from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 220).

features a portrait-like truth of character, not so far indeed as that a *bona fide* individual is described or imagined,[1] but yet those features which give it interest and permanence as applicable to a class are yet individualized.[2]

The old tragedy moved in an ideal world, the old comedy in a fantastic world. As the entertainment restrained the creative activity of both the fancy and imagination, it indemnified the understanding in appealing to the judgement for the probability of the scenes represented. The ancients themselves acknowledged the middle comedy as an exact copy of real life. The grammarian Aristophanes somewhat affectedly exclaimed: "O Life and Menander! which of you two imitated the other!" In short, the form of the middle [a] comedy was poetry; the stuff or matter was prose. It was prose rendered delightful by the blandishments and measured motions of the muse. Yet even this was not universal. The mimes of Sophron, so passionately admired by Plato, were written in prose, and were scenes out of real life conducted in dialogue. The exquisite Feast of Adonis in Theocritus, we are told, with some other of his eclogues, were close imitations of certain mimes of Sophron, free translations of the prose into hexameters.[3]

The [4] chorus entered from below close by the orchestra—and there too, pacing [b] to and fro during the choral odes, they

[a] *Read 'new.'* [b] *MS. 'and pacing.'*

[1] "A portrait of classes—namely, middle and domestic life." Coleridge's interlinear comment, probably to be inserted here.

[2] "Say this in better words." Coleridge's note.

[3] This paragraph (with the last sentence of that preceding) is a series of notes taken from the most essential ideas in three pages of Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 221-24).

[4] This is a separate fragment, which Coleridge probably used with the preceding material, but not necessarily in the order here followed. The discussion of comedy probably belongs to Coleridge's fourth lecture at Willis's Rooms; the discussion of the chorus and masks and the comparison of Greek tragedy with opera may belong to the second or third. The watermark, 1810, is the same as in the preceding fragment.

performed their solemn measured dance. In the front of the orchestra, directly over against the middle of the scene, there stood an elevation with steps in the shape of a large altar, as high as the boards of the stage. This was name[d] the *thymele*, and recalled the origin and original purpose of the chorus, as an altar song in honor of the presiding deity. Here and on these steps the persons of the chorus sate collectively, when they were not singing, and attended to the dialogue as spectators, and as (what in truth they were) the ideal representatives of the real audience, and of the poet in his own character, assuming the supposed impressions made by the drama in order to direct and guide them. But when the chorus itself formed part of the dialogue, then the leader of the band, or foreman, ascended the level summit of the *thymele*, in order to command the stage and speak with the *dramatis personae* there acting. This *thymele* was in the centre of the whole edifice; all the measurements were calculated from this, and the semicircle of the amphitheatre was drawn from this point. This had a double use, a twofold purpose,—it constantly reminded the spectators of the origin of tragedy as a religious service, and declared itself as the ideal representative of the audience by having its place exactly in the point, to which all the radii from the different seats or benches converged.[1] In this double character, as constituent parts and yet at the same time spectators of the drama, the chorus could not but tend to enforce the unity of place—not on the score of any supposed improbability which the understanding or common sense might detect in such change, but because the senses themselves put it out of the power of any imagination to conceive a place coming to and going away from the persons, instead of the persons changing their place. Yet there are instances in which, during the

[1] Up to this point the paragraph is a very free translation from Schlegel, with omissions (*Werke*, v. 60). The remainder of the paragraph is Coleridge's own, although the essential idea, the influence of the chorus on the unity of place, is by no means new. See the discussion of Kames and Lessing in the Introduction, pp. xix-xx, xxvi-xxvii. Schlegel also mentions this argument (*Werke*, v. 78), but merely as an instance of the modern failure to understand the true function of the chorus, as representing the ideal spectator.

silence of the chorus, they have hazarded this, by a change in that part of the scenery which represented the more distant objects to the eyes of the spectator—a demonstrative proof, that this alternatively extolled and ridiculed unity (as ignorantly ridiculed as extolled) was grounded on no essential principle of reason, but rose out of circumstances which the poet could not remove and therefore (to refer to my former illustration) took up into the form of the drama, and co-organized it with all the other parts, into a living whole.

In my last lecture I compared the Greek tragedy rather to our serious opera than to the tragedies of Shakespeare, but yet with the express admission, that the differences were far greater than the likeness. In the opera all is subordinated to the music, the dresses, and the scenery; the poetry is a mere vehicle for articulation, and as little pleasure is lost by ignorance of the Italian language, so is little gained by the knowledge of it. But in the Greek drama all was but as instruments and accessories to the poetry; and hence we should form a better idea of the choral music from the solemn hymns and psalms of austere church music than from any theatrical singing. A single flute was the ordinary accompaniment, and it is not to be supposed that any display of musical power was allowed to obscure the distinct hearing of the words. On the contrary, the purpose was to render the words more audible, to secure by the elevations and pauses greater facility of understanding the poetry. For the choral songs are and ever must have been, the most difficult part of the tragedy; there occur in them the most involved verbal compounds, the newest expressions, the boldest images and allusions. Is it credible that the poets would, one and all, have been thus prodigal of the whole stores of art and genius, if they had known that in the representation the whole must have been lost to the spectators—this too, when the means of after publication were so difficult, expensive, and so slowly and narrowly circulated? [1]

[1] This paragraph translates freely the beginning of one of Schlegel's paragraphs and the whole of another (*Werke*, v. 67-69). Schlegel, however, mentions the comparison of Greek tragedy with opera only to disparage it.

The ancient drama [was] nearest to statuary, the modern to painting.[1]

The *masks*—their vast variety, their admirable workmanship. This we retain proof of [in] the marble masks which represented them ; but to this in the real mask we must add the thinness of the substance, the exquisite fitting on to the head of the actor, so [a] that not only the very eyes were painted, leaving only an opening for the pupil of the real actor, but in some instances even the iris itself was painted, when the color was a known characteristic of the divine or heroic personage [b] represented. . . .[2]

The Definition of Taste and the Origin of Drama.[3]

Ornament. Its beauty consists in its compactness and power of support. But the architect leaves his foundation hidden beneath the edifice. The musician too may have his instrument tuned before the arrival of his audience ; but I must build my foundation before your eyes and leave it there.[4] I must tune my instrument in your presence, and as

[a] *MS.* ' *and so.*'

[b] *MS.* ' *personage represented. The disproportion.*'

[1] Schlegel, *Werke*, v. 10.

[2] Schlegel, *Werke*, v. 65. Coleridge paraphrases and condenses selected sentences from Schlegel's discussion of the masks.

At this point H. N. C. added as a conclusion a fragment detached from another MS. (Cf. i. 222, n. 2.)

[3] This fragment of the lectures of 1808 was discovered, a year after the completion of the remainder of the book, in the catalogue of *The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison*, Second Series, 1882-93, vol. ii. pp. 264-69. It is there followed (pp. 269-70) by a fragment of the first lecture of 1811-12, which I have printed below (i. 245-49). These fragments were first noticed by Professor E. L. Griggs of the University of Michigan, who called them to my attention. The original manuscripts were sold at Sotheby's to Maggs Bros., on April 18, 1918. The editor would be grateful for information of their present whereabouts, for he is inclined to think that the fragment printed above is really two, as the double title indicates. But the fragment is here printed as it appears in the Morrison catalogue, with the exception of a few silent corrections of punctuation, the silent expansion of the symbol ampersand to ' and,' and one or two alterations indicated by square brackets or foot-notes.

[4] For other examples of Coleridge's fondness for this introduction, cf. ii. 259 ; *B.L.* ii. 227 ; and *The Friend*, *Works*(Shedd. ed.), ii. 25.

far as this is absolutely necessary, I have nothing to fear from your justice, and if I should, [in] spite of my endeavours to the contrary, exceed that necessity, I must rest my escape from condemnation in your sense of the difficulty of the subject, and your willingness to be pleased by those, whose wish is to please, whose ambition would be to benefit you.

The subject announced is of taste, in regard to poetry, and whether it have any fixed principle. Now the same arguments that shall decide the question whether taste have any fixed principle, may probably lead to the determination of what those principles are. But first, what is *taste*, in its metaphorical sense. Its primary sense is only an accident. The Greeks, who have left us the purest models of taste, and who are justly believed to have possessed the faculty of taste in the highest degree, did not adopt this metaphor, and yet it may be a means of arriving at the solution of this question, provided we remain aware, that its primary sense can only assist us as an illustration, not as furnishing a ground of absolute deduction, as a history of the word smoothing the way to its development rather than the accurate development itself. And with this caution it is no doubt natural to enquire only from what cause this preference was given to one sense above the rest, and in the discovery of this cause to anticipate some discriminative character of its present metaphorical meaning. Why was it called taste rather than sight or hearing ; rather than smell, touch, or feeling ? And this enquiry becomes more natural, because in correct language, we confine beauty, which is the main object of taste, in all external objects to the eye or ear. We speak of a beautiful picture, a beautiful symphony, and never, except by a sportive or ignorant abuse of words, call a taste or a scent beautiful. It seems strange at the first view that a bodily sense, the objects of which are excluded from our notion of beauty, should have been adopted by so many nations as a metaphorical term to express the enterer and percipient of beauty. But a moment's reflection on that distinction of our senses, made by those first reasoners, into the perfect and imperfect senses, will thin if not melt this

mist. They have been divided, perhaps by a more appropriate term, into the organic and semi-organic senses. By an organ in its strictest import we mean an instrument, a means to an end not blended with that end. Thus a telescope is an instrument or organ for the eye, the eye an [a] organ for the mind, that which we call an organ an instrument for the musician. And in this view the eye and ear have been classed as comparatively perfect organs, inasmuch as they present objects to us without necessarily referring our attention either to themselves or to our own being. Let a Salomon play, and we think of the music, not of the violin that produced it, and in the sweetest strains we do not even refer it to ourselves, but concentre our being in it, and hence we often say, "I lost myself in it. I was quite carried away from myself." What a Salomon can do occasionally, nature does every moment thro' our eyes and ears ; they make their objects possess the whole of our attention. No man thinks of his eyes or of seeing when he looks at anything, or of his ears or hearing when he listens to any sound, unless some unusual circumstance force him to it. We have simply a sense of the object without any sense of the perception or mode thro' which we perceived it. Whereas in our other senses we always combine the perception with the object, and become conscious of the object only as far as we are conscious of the modification produced by it on its appropriate sense. The eye and ear seem wholly inactive (I say SEEM, for we speak of appearances, not of the real nature of things in themselves ; thus, in the reality, the earth moves round the sun, but yet that the sun appears to move round the earth is an actual fact and no delusion, for the appearance results from the reality, and must be as permanent as itself. The eye and ear SEEM wholly inactive, and afford us no consciousness of their being reacted on ; but the remaining senses seem in part passive and always combine a sense of our own life with the perception of the outward object. Taste, therefore, as opposed to sight and hearing teaches us to expect, in its metaphorical use, not merely a distinct notion

[a] *Morrison catalogue, 'and.'*

of an object in and for itself, for that would be better expressed by sight—but a coinstantaneous reference of the object to our own being. But this again holds equally good of the touch as of the taste. True ! and therefore, in addition to this immediate reference of the object to our own being, we must annex some degree of enjoyment or the contrary, some distinguishable impulse to complacency or dislike from some sense of pleasure or pain, for by this annexment is taste intellectually distinguished from touch, while mere feeling as distinguished from touch is altogether passive, and does not of necessity lead to any consciousness of anything external, and consequently is not an organ, and has not been enumerated among the senses. The sense of smell, indeed, might perhaps have furnished a metaphor of equivalent import with the sense of taste ; but the latter was naturally preferred on account of the greater frequency, importance, and dignity of its employment, tho' I think a closer analysis of the sense of smell would suggest another reason, did its importance justify or the present subject require it. From this investigation of the primary distinct character of the sense of taste, we may safely anticipate that in its metaphorical sense as applied to the fine arts, taste implies an intellectual perception of any object blended with a distinct consciousness of pain or pleasure conceived as resulting from that object, or, *vice versâ*, a sense of enjoyment or dislike instantly combined with and appearing to proceed from some intellectual perception of the object. I say intellectual, for otherwise we should confound the metaphorical with the primary sense of the word, a blunder which, if I mistake not, lies at the bottom of a whole system on the principles of taste, tho' common language might have suggested, that we taste a ragout, but we do not taste the *Paradise Lost*, but *have a taste* for it.

I fear the heaviness of my subject considered as a public lecture ; the tedium felt by my hearers cannot be greater than my sympathy with it. It is unpleasant to travel over a road while it is making ; but I trust that hereafter we shall have a smooth way in consequence.

Taste then may be defined. A distinct perception of any arrangement conceived as external to us, co-existent with some degree of dislike or complacency conceived as resulting from that arrangement, and this immediately, without any prospect of consequences, tho' this is indeed implied in the word co-existent. And in this definition of taste is involved the definition of the fine arts, as being such whose especial purpose is to gratify to the taste; that is, not merely to adjoin, but to combine and unite a sense of immediate pleasure in ourselves with the perception of external arrangement.

But my first duty, then, that of defining my terms, I have endeavoured to perform with regard to this one word. Many others remain, the definition of the greater part of which will be more suitably given in after lectures, as the words, wit, fancy, imagination, sublimity, the grand, the picturesque, the majestic; each will receive the fullest development which my mind can afford them, in the different lectures on Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton,[1] as assimilated to or distinguished from their contemporaries. But as beauty has been generally admitted as the direct and peculiar object of the taste, it becomes in some measure necessary to settle, or endeavour to settle, the true meaning of that word. But here arises no mean difficulty; a word in common use applied to very various purposes by various minds, who shall determine what is its specific appropriate meaning? A late writer on the subject of taste, whose work has excited no ordinary degree of attention (Knight,[2] p. 9 to [p.] 15). Your candor

[1] This reference to the proposed subjects of following lectures identifies the fragment as introducing the series of 1808 or (possibly though not probably) the second series of 1818-19.

[2] Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London, 1805. Coleridge probably used the 1806 edition (the third), since a copy of that edition is known to contain Coleridge marginalia. I have not been able to see this edition, but the pagination of the various editions which I have consulted (first, second, fourth) is identical for the earlier part of the book, and nearly so for the whole. The passage indicated covers sections 6-9 of the Introduction and is obviously too long to quote in full. It begins by defending the position that " The word Beauty is a general term—applied indiscriminately to almost everything that is pleasing, either to the sense, the imagination, or

will excuse a quotation of some length, because the whole theory, which it will be my ambition [to] recommend to you from a conviction of its subserviency to the best interests of our moral nature, must stand or fall, accordingly, as I shall be enabled to detect error in the statement—there are many undoubted truths in the particular sentences—but the error, which it is my purpose to detect, is in the general bearing. (Here read the passage.)

First, then, as to the use of words. If a man discovers any new substance or combination of substances in nature, he claims and without opposition takes the right of giving a discriminate name to the same. Again, if he should discover that two very different bodies have from certain superficial resemblances been confounded under one name, he has a right to assign the original name to that which best deserves it, from reasons of general analogy, and to name the other according to the class which he has proved it belongs to. Nor will it be a fair objection that many persons who have not known the fact or not reflected on it, continue to use the word promiscuously. Now apply this to our intellectual and moral researches. To erect a firm bulwark against capricious and arbitrary innovation, if we have a right to demand first, that a certain distinct faculty or modification of the human mind has a real existence, which every reflecting individual may prove to himself by a cautious appeal to his own consciousness, and that another faculty exists, distinct from the former, in source and application [a]—should there be a word in the language which nine times in ten is really used to express the first faculty, and another word which

[a] *Morrison catalogue : end of sentence.*

the understanding," though, with objects of sense, the chief qualities that determine beauty, such as the sense of proportion, appeal to the intellect. It seems, says Knight, to be difficult to find a universal standard of beauty : the ideals of feminine beauty among the English and among the negroes are diametrically opposed. And this example of different standards is only one obvious representative of innumerable others.—Practically all of the passage just summarized is incompatible with Coleridge's Kantian aesthetics. For his criticism, see his next paragraph and his " Aesthetical Essays," *B.L.* ii. 219-52.

would with equal precision discriminate the second, there can surely be no doubt, that we ought to appropriate those words, however in careless conversation they may ordinarily be confounded. If in drinking choice wine from a goblet cast and adorned by Myron, a man should say, " A beautiful flavour from a beautiful bowl " ; and a friend should observe that it would be better to say, " A delightful flavor [1] from a beautiful vase," there are few even among the uneducated who would not feel the superior propriety. In a boat on the Lake of Keswick, at the time that recent rains had filled all the waterfalls, I was looking at the celebrated Cataract of Lodore, then in all its force and greatness ; a lady of no mean rank observed that it was sublimely beautiful, and indeed absolutely *pretty*.[2] I have never mentioned this without occasioning a laugh of a kind which I am convinced could not possibly have arisen, if some deeper source of absurdity had not existed than that of a merely unusual phrase ; if instead of *beautiful*, a pompous word coined from the Latin, as *formose* for instance, had been used, we should certainly laugh at the pedantry, but with a very different feeling from that with which we laugh at the incongruity of ideas involved in the former. What then if, following Plato and all the Platonists, we should define beauty to be a pleasurable sense of the many (by many I do not mean comparative multitude, but only as a generic word opposed to absolute unity,) reduced to unity by the correspondence of all the component parts to each other, and the reference of all to one central point. If our language have any defect, it is in its want of terms expressing *kind*, as distinguished from *degree*. Thus

[1] This spelling is Coleridge's normal spelling for all words of this class ; the more common British spelling immediately before is surely the error of a copyist. Since there is a difference in British and American usage on this point of spelling, and since the present text reproduces Coleridge's spelling (now called American), this trifle is worth passing notice.

[2] This favorite anecdote appears also in *B.L.* ii. 224-25, *Table-Talk*, June 24, 1827, and the first lecture of 1811-12 (cf. i. 249 ; ii. 62-63). The variant forms of the anecdote as to locality and speaker may probably be corrected by Dorothy Wordsworth's account of the incident in *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland* (*Journals*, London, 1897, vol. i. p. 195).

we have cold and heat, but no words that instantly give the idea of heat independent of comparison. If we say to persons who have never studied even the elements of chemistry, there is heat in ice, heat in quicksilver, we should appear to talk paradoxes, only because the words have been habitually used in a comparative not a positive sense; so with regard to the word *many*, I must entreat you to understand it as simply expressing that the complex object is not absolutely one. In this sense, the simplest triangle combines the many with the one, equally with the most varied diagrams of the geometricians. Now if we receive this definition, we shall at once understand why in correct language beauty has been appropriated to the objects of the eye and ear, for these senses are the only ones that present a whole to us combined with a consciousness of its parts; but inasmuch as such combination is not generally called beauty, unless it is accompanied with pleasure, it is easy to understand that whatever external object gives pleasure may by association be incorrectly called beautiful, inasmuch as the result in sensation is more important to common minds than the external cause of that result. There are three words, on the distinct meaning of which, and on the question whether they ought to have a distinct meaning, depends the solution of the main difficulty concerning taste—the *good*, the *beautiful*, the *agreeable*.[1]

The definition of the Drama is involved in its name. Instead of simply narrating the actions of men, it represents men acting; or if it narrates, it is narrative in representation. According as its purpose is to excite our graver or lighter emotions, it is named Tragedy or Comedy; and when the object is to excite both in the course of the same composition, Tragi-Comedy or mixed Drama. Of the origin of Tragedy History has informed us what from the nature of man in given states of society we should have conjectured even

[1] The Kantian distinction of these three terms is Coleridge's answer to Knight's indiscriminate use of the term 'beauty.'—The editor suspects that a new fragment should begin with the next paragraph, though Coleridge was, of course, capable of transitions even more abrupt than this.

without tradition.[1] We are to conceive a small state under a popular government, in a warlike and unsettled age, in which from apprehension of attack from the various neighbouring states the most important part of the population dwelt together in one city—the established religion of which was a local polytheism, namely, a worship of departed heroes, and of the powers of nature personified, sometimes separate, but more often confounded together, so that the god was at once a traditional hero, and the symbol or spirit of some part of nature. For Polytheism among a rude and illiterate race would almost necessarily blend with hero worship. Some great warrior or benefactor would be supposed to have acted under the inspiration or protection of some particular god-like power, would sometimes receive his name from that power, and sometimes give it, and in a few generations the idea of the separation would be lost. Thus Jupiter was the Impersonation of the Sky, and at the same time a King of Crete. From the hymns that accompanied an established sacrifice to one of these Hero-Gods Tragedy had its name and origin. It first appeared as the Hymn of the Goat (Τραγῳδία[a]) the victim offered to Bacchus as God of the Vine. In his earthly character [Bacchus was] the conqueror and civilizer of India, and allegorically the Symbol—in the narrower and popular notion—of festivity, but worshipped in the mysteries as representative of the organic energies of the Universe, that work by passion and joy without apparent distinct consciousness, and rather as the cause or condition of skill

[a] *Morrison catalogue* 'Τραγωδη.'

[1] The remainder of this paragraph and the whole of the two paragraphs following coincide so closely with H. C. Robinson's report of the lecture of February 5, 1808 (cf. ii. 7-9), as to identify this fragment clearly. It is, then, the second lecture of Coleridge's first series, that at the Royal Institution. (Cf. i. 180, n. 1, and 188, n. 1.) Since the next section, on "The Origins of Modern Drama," is identified by internal evidence and by correspondence with Robinson's report as being the latter part of the second lecture of 1808, these two fragments are probably continuous. The three paragraphs which conclude this fragment may be misplaced; or, more probably, they may have seemed to Robinson unworthy of recording in his notes. The absence from Robinson's notes of the introduction on the definition of taste seems to me more significant than the absence of this conclusion.

and contrivance, than the result; and thus [he was] distinguished from Apollo and Minerva, under which they personified the causative and pre-ordaining intellect manifested throughout nature. From this cause, aided by his traditional history as an earthly conqueror, Bacchus was honoured as the presiding genius of the heroic temperament and character, this being considered not as an acquisition of art or discipline, but something innate and divine, a felicity above and beyond produce—and hence, too, the connection with the same deity of all the vehement and awful passions and the events and actions proceeding from such passions.

We should form a very inaccurate as well as mean idea, and blind ourselves to the natural connection of tragedy with these Hymns of the Goat, if we imagine the ancients to have sung the praise of Bacchus in the words which Dryden has given to Timotheus in his celebrated Ode on Alexander's Feast.[1] Whether or no the drinking song introduced is to be justified by the general plan of this ode, and the effect which the poet wished to produce, I do not pretend to decide —but in itself it is a very gross impropriety. Timotheus must have been a dull and awkward flatterer, if before Alexander, proud to be considered as the Son of Jupiter by a mortal, and at the same time full of the conquest of India, he in singing the praise of Bacchus, of Bacchus likewise the Son of Jove by a mortal, and likewise the Conqueror of India, had forgotten the God and substituted a commonplace panegyric on the joys of drinking.

No! with the ancients Bacchus or Dionysus[a] was among the most awful and mysterious deities—in his earthly character, etc., to such passions. In the hymns of celebration the different voices would sometimes sing in chorus, sometimes separately, and in responses. The narrative parts

[a] *Morrison catalogue* ' *Dionysius.*'

[1] " Bacchus, ever fair and young,
Drinking joys did first ordain;
Bacchus' blessings are a treasure,
Drinking is the soldier's pleasure."

of the hymns, containing accounts either of the God's own actions, or of those effected by him either in reward or vengeance, would be sung in notes less removed from animated dialogue, than in devotional and lyric addresses. The mode of relating events in rude and simple states of society is always highly dramatic, and before any distinct idea of a drama had been conceived, the narrative parts of the hymn would already have become a sort of heroic dialogue in recitative. This greatly interesting the passions and curiosity of the auditors and spectators, [it] would gradually be divided from the lyric or choral parts. [Each singer would soon attach themselves to some particular part, and in speaking in the character of the heroes would feel himself as assuming that character gradually.] It would suggest itself that the interest would increase with the delusion, and the delusion would be aided by some mark of dress, well known to belong to the character and which would be adopted for another reason, that the multitude of spectators might see at once to what hero the words spoken were attributed—and already we have a tragedy in its first state—even such as it appears to have been before Æschylus, by and for whom a stage was erected, and according to an express passage of Vitruvius, through whose suggestions the art of perspective was both discovered and applied to the purposes of theatrical scenery.[a] When we use the word gradually, we are not always to understand at the same time slowly. In a free government and under favourable circumstances it is surprising with what rapidity improvement follows on improvement. Such was the origin of tragedy among the ancients, which ever after influenced the nature of tragedy itself :—the devotional part always remained under the form of chorus, and the subjects of tragedy were always confined to well-known tales of gods and heroes—the earliest history of Greece was combined with its religion, and their tragedies formed a sort of Bible or biblical instruction for the people. We shall soon have occasion to observe how in a very different age, under a different religion, and different state of society and

[a] *In the Morrison catalogue, the five preceding sentences are two only.*

government, similar circumstances produced a similar effect. Comedy rose at a somewhat later period, from different causes indeed, but passed almost at once into its completion, the model having been already perfected in the establishment of tragedy. Even more than tragedy, it required the existence of a City, rude manners, and popular government. Duelling was unknown—to destroy the life of a fellow-citizen for a verbal affront would have been deemed and punished not merely as murder but as high treason to the State. Ridicule was the great weapon both of offence and defence—at all times, but more especially in the less artificial state of manners, ridicule disposes men to mimicry. The New Hollanders, whose dullness of apprehension has made many philanthropic observers melancholy, are yet perfect masters of mimicry, and often employ it in a manner that would excite loud applause even in an European theatre.

A strong sense of particular FACT cannot be reasoned away by a general logic—which must indeed needs be plausible, because it has been drawn from the generality of things, a *general* logic, and therefore of necessity plausible, but yet false, because it is not universal, and yet is applied to a particular case as if it were so.

That regret and remorse are feelings different in kind, and not merely as degrees and modifications—one and the same feeling—is a fact which it only requires solitude and sincere quiet self-questioning to establish in the mind so that no sophistry can reason it away, no fear of being deemed superstitious and unenlightened by philosophy can scare it, no ridicule scoff it out of our consciences.

Wherever we are distinctly conscious that our will has had no share direct or indirect in the production of a given event or circumstance that is painful and calamitous to ourselves or others, we feel *regret*—as, for instance, in the late dangerous indisposition of the great and amiable philosopher, the resemblance of whose character and person makes me at this moment shrink back with a painful sense of impropriety at the thought that *I* am now addressing you in the place in which he has been so often and through so long a period

listened to by you [1]—the perception of the new truths, new views given by him so modified by the unmistakable and self-revealed character of the teacher, that intellectual acknowledgment and moral esteem were often confused and coalescent in one feeling of personal love and admiration. I have been seduced into a digression—a digression, indeed, of the head only ; for with me while I stand here it must needs be in the strait road of the heart—but where the illustration swallows up or out-dazzles the proposition, the ill effect is that we are compelled to an awkward recurrence and to enunciate the original truth anew. In cases, I mean to say, not only independent of our will but out of ourselves, we find no difficulty in distinguishing regret from remorse, and in what regards our own selves, yet which is not voluntary, the same distinction, one would think, ought rationally to be made. Yet here commences a difference. We do not, indeed, in the latter more than in the former case confound or lose the distinction ; but yet in perhaps a majority of instances, however unconscious of blame we may feel ourselves, yet a certain something more than regret will mingle with the regret—a certain something will haunt and sadden the heart, which if not remorse is, however, a phantom and counterfeit of remorse. May not this be a fact meant to make us sensible that, however independent the calamity may be of any moral fault as its proximate or immediate cause, it may nevertheless, and often will, be yet [2] a distant effect of something morally wrong in our past actions ; or—for why should I be ashamed of that which tho' reason cannot comprehend, nay, even seems to stand from, yet of which all nations of the earth in one form or other have prostrated themselves before the mysterious reality—a distant effect of the guilt of ages past. These reflections occurred [to] me from

[1] Coleridge refers to the serious illness of Humphry Davy at the end of 1807 and beginning of 1808. (Cf. ii. 4.) This reference is, of course, another means of identifying the fragment as part of the lectures of 1808. Coleridge's own illness, which he mentions below, adds confirmatory evidence.

[2] The obscurity of this sentence disappears when the word ' yet,' which is a mere repetition of ' nevertheless,' is omitted.

the exceeding depression which I felt this morning previous to my appearing before [you] accompanied with a painful sense of self-dissatisfaction bordering on self-reproach. I could not but be conscious to how severe a trial I had put your patience and candour in my last lecture—and tho' it was thro' severe and still lingering bodily indisposition that my faculties had been too confused to make a proper and comprehensive selection from the mass of papers containing the substance of this course of lectures as parts of an extensive work, and that the most interesting parts of what I had selected I found myself too weak to recite aloud, so as that they should not be ridiculous by the disproportion of the manner to the matter—yet I could not drive away the despondence of self-condemnation—and when, during the time I have been addressing you, my mind gradually regained its buoyancy, I felt an increasing impulse, which I have thus yielded to, to attempt to remove from your feelings the disappointment from the past by hopes of something less unworthy of your attention in my future lectures.

The Origins of Modern Drama.[1]

Let two persons join in the same scheme to ridicule a third, and either take advantage of, or invent, some story for that purpose, and mimicry will have already produced a sort of rude comedy. It becomes an inviting treat to the populace, gains an additional zest and burlesque by following the already established plan of tragedy ; and the first man of genius who seizes the idea, and reduces it into form, into a work of art, by metre and music, is the Aristophanes of the country. How just this account is appears from the fact, that in the first or old comedy of the Athenians, all [2] the *dramatis personae* are living characters introduced under their own names, and no doubt their dress, manner, person,

[1] This lecture is from Egerton MS. 2800, ff. 15-18.

[2] This is, of course, an exaggeration. Schlegel also notes the fact that living persons were represented in the Old Comedy (*Werke*, v. 183-84). The coincidence is insignificant ; and this fragment belongs to the lectures of 1808, before Schlegel's book was published.

and voice closely mimicked. In less favorable states of society, as of England in the Middle Ages, the beginnings of comedy would be constantly taking place from the mimics and satirical minstrels; but from want of fixed abode, popular government, and the successive attendance of the same auditors, would remain in its embryo. We shall have occasion to observe that this remark is not without importance in explaining the essential differences of [the mo [a]]dern and ancient theatres. I will venture [in ill [a]]ustration of what I have offered to you, to mention a fact I myself saw. (Here the anecdote of the mountebank at Naples.[1])

We have thus stated [?] the origin of tragedy and comedy among the Greeks. Similar phenomena would take place among the Romans much more slowly, and [the drama would] have much longer remained in its first irregular form from the character of the people, their continual engagements in wars of conquest, the nature of their government, and their rapidly increasing empire. But however this might have been, the conquest of Greece precluded both the process and the necessity of it; and the Roman stage at once presented imitations or translations of the Greek drama. This continued till the perfect establishment of Christianity. Some attempts were made indeed to adapt the persons of scriptural or ecclesiastical history to the drama, and sacred plays, it is probable, were not unknown in Constantinople under the emperors of the East. The first of the kind is, I believe, the only one preserved; namely, the "Christ in his Sufferings," by Gregory Nazianzen,[2] possibly written in consequence of the prohibition of profane literature to the Christians by the Apostate Julian. In the West, however, the enslaved and

[a] *Blurred.*

[1] See H. C. Robinson's account of the lecture of February 5, 1808.

[2] The attribution of this tragedy to Gregory is no longer accepted. The real author is not certainly known. Coleridge takes his reference to Gregory from Malone's "Historical Account of the English Stage." Malone is quoting from Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, "Historical Account," *The Plays and Poems of Shakspeare* (Boswell-Malone ed., 1821), iii. 12. For Coleridge's use of Malone, cf. i. 192, note 1.

debauched Roman world became too barbarous for any theatrical exhibitions more refined than those of pageants and chariot-races, while the spirit of Christianity, which in its most corrupt form still breathed general humanity, wherever controversies of faith were not concerned, had done away the barbarous exhibitions of gladiators, and the loss of the distant provinces prevented the possibility of exhibiting the combats of wild beasts.

I pass therefore [at once [a]] to the feudal ages, that soon succeeded, [confining my [a]] observations to this country, tho' indeed the same remarks with very few alterations will apply to all the other states into which the great empire was broken. Ages of darkness succeeded,—not indeed that darkness of Russia or the barbarous lands unconquered by Rome ; for from the time of Honorius to the destruction of Constantinople and consequent introduction of ancient literature into Europe, there was a continued succession of individual intellects ; the chain was never wholly broken, tho' the connecting links were often of baser metal. [A dark cloud, like another sky, covered the whole cope of heaven, but here it thinned away, and white stains of light shewed a star behind it, and here it was rent, and a star passed across in all its brightness and vanished] They shewed but themselves ; the surrounding objects did not partake of their light. There were deep wells of knowledge ; but no fertilizing rills and rivulets. But for the drama, it was altogether a state of chaos, out of which it was, for a while at least, to proceed anew, as if there had been none before it. And yet it is not undelightful to contemplate the eduction of good from evil. The ignorance of the great mass of our countrymen was the efficient cause of the reproduction of the drama ; and the preceding darkness equally with the returning light was necessary in order to the production of *Shakespeare*.

The drama recommenced in England as it first began in Greece, in religion. The people were not able to read ; the priesthood were unwilling that they should read : and yet

[a] *Again the interpolations are from L.R., and again they supply words obliterated by a stain.*

their own interest compelled them not to leave the people wholly ignorant of the great events of sacred history. They did that, therefore, by scenic representations, which in after ages it has been *attempted* to do in part (in Roman Catholic countries) by pictures. They presented Mysteries, and often at great expense. A relique of this custom still remains in the south of Europe, and indeed throughout Italy, where at Christmas all convents and the great nobles rival each other in the scenic representation of the birth of Christ and its circumstances. I heard two instances, communicated to me at different times, one in Sicily and the other in Rome, of noble devotees, the ruin of whose fortunes was said to commence in the extravagant expense which they had incurred, in presenting the *Praesepe* ; *i.e.*, the manger. But these Mysteries, in order to answer their design, must not only be instructive, but entertaining ; and as when they became so, the people began to take pleasure in acting them themselves—an interloping against which the priests seem to have fought hard and yet in vain—the most ludicrous images were mixed with the most awful personations ; and whatever the subject might be, however sublime, however pathetic, yet the Vice and the Devil, who are the genuine antecessors of Harlequin and the Clown, were necessary component parts.[1] . . . I have myself two MSS., which I transcribed ten years ago at Helmstädt [2] in Germany, the

[1] I have degraded to a foot-note the memoranda which follow : " (Historical Account of the English Stage, p. 25, ' In the ancient ' to p. 26 ' populace '—. Again, 15, with an introduction of my own. ' After all the beasts and ' to ' scenes,' p. 16.) " This parenthetical passage was, of course, not intended by Coleridge for the text and has, therefore, been removed. The influence of Malone's " Historical Account," which this reference indicates, scarcely extends further. The historical material in this lecture is too generalized to justify any attribution of specific sources. The references are to vol. iii. of the first Variorum edition of Shakespeare's plays by Johnson and Steevens, revised by Isaac Reed (1803). The passages which Coleridge used, which are too long to quote, are sufficiently explained by the first three sentences of the next paragraph. They discuss (pp. 25-26) the Devil and the Vice beating him, and (pp. 15-16) the buffoonery of the Miracles, with illustrations and excuses.

[2] The normal spelling of this name is ' Helmstedt,' but Coleridge's spelling is a recognized older variant. The phrase ' ten years ago,'

one on the education of Eve's children, in which after the fall and repentance of Adam, the offended Maker, as a proof of his reconciliation, condescends to visit them and to catechize the children, who, with a noble contempt of chronology, are all brought together from Abel to Noah. The good children say the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer, but Cain and his rout, after he had received a box of the ear for not taking off his hat at His approach, and afterwards offering his left hand, is prompted by the devil so to blunder in the Lord's Prayer as to reverse the petitions and say it backward.[1] Unaffectedly, I feel pain at repetitions like these, however innocent. As historical documents they are valuable ; but I feel that what I can read with my eye with perfect innocence, I cannot without inward fear and misgivings pronounce with my tongue.

Let me, however, be acquitted of presumption if I say that I cannot agree with Mr. Malone, that our ancestors did not perceive the ludicrous of these things, or that they paid no separate attention to the serious or comic parts. Indeed his own statement contradicts it. For what purpose should the Vice leap upon the Devil's back and belabour him but to produce this separate attention. The people laughed heartily. Nor can I conceive any meaning attached to the words " separate attention " that is not fully answered by one part of an exhibition exciting seriousness or pity, and the

printed by H. N. C. as ' a few years ago,' dates this fragment as written for the lectures of 1808. Coleridge was in Germany from September, 1798, until July, 1799.

[1] For other references to this play, see Robinson's report of this lecture, as delivered orally, Feb. 5, 1808 (cf. ii. 8) ; the Hammond report of the second lecture of 1818 (*Works*, iv. 238-39) ; and Clement Carlyon's *Early Years and Late Reflections*, i. 93-94. The subject is discussed in full by Professor J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, p. 543. The play is by Hans Sachs (Coleridge's *Works*, iv. 239), and Professor Lowes has given the reference to Sachs's works, ed. von Keller, i. 53-87 (*Die ungeleichen Kinder Eves*). Professor Alice D. Snyder of Vassar College has published in *Modern Philology* (vol. xxv. No. 3, pp. 377-80, Feb. 1928) an article on " Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." She points out that Sachs's works are included in this list and that Coleridge's transcript seems actually to have been of another play, the MS. of which appears in booksellers' catalogues as late as 1880 and 1884.

other raising mirth and loud laughter. That they felt no impiety, is most true. For the very essence of that system of Christian polytheism, which in all its essentials is as full as gross in Spain, Sicily, and the south of Italy, as it ever was in England in the days of Henry VI.—nay more so, for a Wycliffe had then not appeared only, but scattered the good seed widely—it is an essential of the system to draw the mind wholly from its own inward whispers and quiet discriminations, and to habituate the conscience to pronounce sentence in every case according to the established verdicts of the church and the casuists. I have looked thro' volume after volume of their most approved casuists, and still I find disquisitions whether this act is right, and under what circumstances, to a minuteness that makes reasoning ridiculous, and to a callous and unnatural immodesty to which none but a monk could harden himself who had been stripped of all the tender charities of life, yet goaded on to make war against them by the unsubdued hauntings of our meaner nature, even as dogs are said to get the hydrophobia from excessive thirst. I fully believe that our ancestors laughed as heartily as their posterity do at Grimaldi ;[1] and not having been told that they would be punished for laughing, they thought it very innocent ; and if their priests had left out murder in the catalogue of their prohibitions—as indeed they did under certain circumstances of heresy—the greater part of them (the moral instincts common to all men having been smothered and kept from development) would have thought as little of murder. However this may be, the necessity of at once instructing and gratifying the people produced the great distinction between the Greek and the English theatre. To this we must attribute the origin of tragi-comedy, or a representation of human events more lively, more near the truth, and permitting a larger field of moral instruction, a more ample exhibition of the recesses of the human heart under all the trials and circumstances that most concern us, than was known or guessed at by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. At the same time we learn to account for and—

[1] Joseph Grimaldi (1779-1837), the most celebrated of English clowns.

relatively to the author—perceive the necessity of the fool or clown or both, as the substitutes of the Vice and the Devil, which our ancestors had been so accustomed to see in every exhibition of the stage that they could not feel any performance perfect without them. Even to this day, in Italy, every opera (even Metastasio obeyed the claim throughout) must have six characters—the tyrant, the lover, the beloved, etc.; and when a new opera appears, it is the universal fashion to ask, which is the tyrant, which the lover, etc.

It is the especial honor of Christianity that in its worst and most corrupted form it cannot wholly separate itself from morality, whereas the other religions in their best form (I do not include Mahometanism, which is only an anomalous corruption of Christianity, like Swedenborgianism) have no connection with it. [The [a]] very impersonation of moral evil under the name of [Vice [a]] facilitated all other impersonations; and consequently, the Mysteries were succeeded by *Moralities*, or dialogues and plots of allegorical personages. Again, some character[s] in real history had become so famous, so proverbial, as Nero for instance, that they wēre introduced instead of the moral quality for which they were so noted; and in this manner the stage was moving on to the absolute production of heroic and comic real characters, when the restoration of literature followed by the ever blessed Reformation, let in upon the kingdom not only new knowledge but new motives. A useful rivalry commenced between the metropolis—the residence of (independent of the court and nobles) the most active and stirring spirits who had not been regularly educated, or who from mischance or irregularity had forsaken the beaten track of preferment—and the universities. The latter prided themselves in their closer approximation to the ancient rules and ancient regularity, taking the theatre of Greece—say rather, its dim reflection, the rhetorical tragedies of Seneca—as a perfect ideal, without any critical collation of the times, origin, and circumstances. In the mean time the popular writers, who could not and would not abandon what they found to delight

[a] *Blurred. The interpolation is again from L.R.*

their countrymen sincerely,—and not, as . . . [?] the scholars, from enquiries first put to the recollection of rules, and answered in the affirmative as if it had been an arithmetical sum—did yet borrow from them whatever they could do consistently with their own peculiar means of pleasing.

[*Classical and Romantic Drama.*[1]]

We call, for we see and feel, the swan and the dove both transcendently beautiful. As absurd as it would be to institute a comparison between their separate claims to beauty from any abstract rule common to both, without reference to the life and being of the animals themselves—say rather if, having first seen the dove, we abstracted its outlines, gave them a false generalization, called them principle or ideal of bird-beauty and then proceeded to criticize the swan or the eagle—not less absurd is it to pass judgement on the works of a poet on the mere ground that they have been called by the same class-name with the works of other poets of other times and circumstances, or any ground indeed save that of their [a] inappropriateness to their [a] own end and being, their [a] want of significance, as symbol and physiognomy.[2]

O few have there been among the critics who have followed with the eye of the imagination the imperishable yet ever wandering spirit of poetry thro' its various metempsychoses and consequent metamorphoses, or who have rejoiced in the light of clear perception at beholding at each new birth, at each rare avatar, the human race form itself [b] a new body by assimilating to itself the different materials of nourishment

[a] *MS.* ' *its.*'

[b] *MS.* ' *For the human race/~~in human~~* [*sic*] *form wring* [?] *itself.*' *The words* ' *for* ' *and* ' *wring* ' *should be struck out, I believe. They may belong to the first draft of the sentence, which Coleridge revised throughout. But this reading is mere speculation, in default of a better.*

[1] Here begins another fragment from Egerton MS. ff. 19-20. Its watermark, 1810 ; its subject-matter, and its evidences of indebtedness to Schlegel,—all mark it as later than, and distinct from the preceding fragment.

[2] This paragraph apparently is drawn from Reynolds' essay in *The Idler*, No. 82. The words are Coleridge's.

out of the then circumstances, and new organs of power and action appropriate to the new sphere of its motion and activity.[1]

I have before spoken of the Romance, or the language formed out of the decayed Roman and the northern tongues;[2] and comparing it with the Latin we found it less perfect in simplicity and relation, the privileges of a language formed by the simple attraction of homogeneous parts, but yet more rich, more expressive and various, as one formed out of a chaos by more obscure affinities of atoms apparently heterogeneous. As more than a metaphor, as an analogy of this, I have named the true genuine modern poetry the romantic; and the works of Shakespeare are romantic poetry revealing itself in the drama. If the tragedies of Sophocles are in the strict sense of the word tragedies, and the comedies of Aristophanes comedies, we must emancipate ourselves of a false association from misapplied names, and find a new word for the plays of Shakespeare. They are in the ancient sense neither tragedies nor comedies, nor both in one, but a different genus, diverse in kind, not merely different in degree, —romantic dramas, or dramatic romances.[3] And even a recurrence to my[a] recent explanation of Romance would awake a presentiment that the deviation from the simple forms and unities of the ancient stage is an essential principle and, of course, an appropriate excellence, of the romantic;[4]

[a] *MS.* ' *the my*.'

[1] Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. 158. Coleridge's paragraph is an eloquent re-writing and expansion of an idea which Schlegel expresses rather barely.

[2] This bit of false learning is partly due to Coleridge's misunderstanding of Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 9), partly to Schlegel himself, who over-estimates the part of the Germanic elements in the Romance languages, but speaks of them in the plural. Coleridge repeats this remark elsewhere. (Cf. ii. 265.)

[3] Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. 158. See also 159-60. This fundamental distinction, as applied to Shakespeare, comes from Schlegel, and not from Schiller, who in his essay " On Naive and Sentimental Poetry," placed Shakespeare with the ' naive ' poets of antiquity rather than with the ' sentimental ' poets.

[4] Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. 163. Coleridge here, and in the preceding sentences, uses Schlegel's ideas, but his own words. In the rest of the

that these unities are to a great extent the natural form of that which in its elements was homogeneous, and its representation addressed eminently to the outward senses; and tho' both fable, language, and characters appealed to the reason rather than the mere understanding, inasmuch as they supposed an ideal state rather than referred to an existing reality, yet it was a reason which must strictly accommodate itself to the senses, and so far became a sort of more elevated understanding. On the other [hand], the romantic poetry, the Shakespearian drama, appealed to the imagination rather than to the senses, and to the reason as contemplating our inward nature, the workings of the passions in their most retired recesses. But the reason, as reason, is independent of time and space; it has nothing to do with them. Hence the certainties of reason have been called *eternal truths*; *ex. gr.*, the endless properties of the circle—what connection have they with this or that age, this or that country? The reason is aloof from time and space; the imagination [has] an arbitrary control over both; and if only the poet have such power of exciting our internal emotions as to make us present to the scene in imagination chiefly, he acquires the right and privilege of using time and space as they exist in the imagination, obedient only to the laws which the imagination acts by. These laws it will be our object and aim to point out as the examples recur which illustrate them; but once more let me repeat what can never be too often reflected on by all who would intelligently study the works either of the Athenian dramatists or of Shakespeare—that the very essence of the former consists in the sternest separation of the diverse in kind; the latter delights [in variety? [1]].

paragraph he is developing more independently and freely the general ideas of Schlegel's first lecture, which was, however, expressed in a less rigidly Kantian form. *Werke*, v. 3-20. Coleridge's irritating and uncritical patronage of Greek drama, as appealing primarily to the senses, has its ultimate source in such remarks as Schlegel's summing-up of Greek civilization: . . . "we cannot concede any higher character to their civilization than that of a refined, ennobled sensuality." *Werke*, v. 13.

[1] H. N. C.'s re-writing of this antithesis to supply the conclusion deserves quotation and may, perhaps, have been suggested by some recollection

[*Dramatic Illusion.*[1]]

Desultory Remarks on the Stage, and the Present State of the Higher Drama

A theatre, in the widest sense of the word, is the general term for all places of amusement thro' the ear or eye in which men assemble in order to be amused by some entertainment presented to all at the same time. Thus, an old Puritan divine says: "Those who attend public worship and sermons only to amuse themselves, make a theatre of the church, and turn God's house into the devil's. *Theatra aedes diabololatricae.*"[2] . . . The most important and dignified species of this genus is, doubtless, the STAGE (*res theatralis histrionica*), which, in addition to the generic definition above given, may be characterized (in its *Idea*, or according to what it does, or ought to, *aim* at) as a combination of several, or of all the fine arts to an harmonious whole having a distinct end of its own, to which the peculiar end of each of the component arts, taken separately, is made subordinate and subservient; that, namely, of imitating

of Coleridge's conversation: " . . . the very essence of the former consists in the sternest separation of the diverse in kind and the disparate in the degree, whilst the latter delights in interlacing by a rain-bow like transfusion of hues the one with the other." The idea may be found, very differently expressed, in Schlegel (*Werke*, vi. 161-63).

[1] Under this heading are printed two entirely separate fragments. The watermark of this fragment (from Additional MS. 34, 225, f. 56) is 1805; the watermark of the second (from Egerton MS. 2800, ff. 21-22) is 1804. Both, therefore, may belong to the lectures of 1808.

[2] I have degraded to a foot-note a passage which Coleridge has enclosed with brackets, I think for omission: " [A leader of the band at either of our theatres who should see the faces and noises made occasionally in a Methodist chapel would be tempted to retort the compliment. N.B. A writer in the " Eclectic Review " pronounces it a sin even to doubt that Shakespeare is in Hell.

Churlish priest!
A blessed angel will our sweet Shakespeare be
When thou liest howling!

But hush! we miserable offenders, the play-goers, ought to have more charity than the Saints, if only in order to cover our sins.]" Cf. Laertes' speech in *Hamlet*, V. i. 234-36:

I tell thee, churlish priest,
A ministering angel shall my sister be,
When thou liest howling.

reality (objects, actions, or passions) under a *semblance* of reality. Thus, Claude imitates a landscape at sunset, but only as a *picture* ; while a forest-scene is not presented to the audience as a *picture*, but as a forest : and tho' in the *full* sense of the word we are no more *deceived* by the one than by the other, yet are our feelings very differently affected, and the pleasure derived from the one is not composed of the same elements as that afforded by the other, even on the supposition that the *quantum* of both were equal. In the former, it is a *condition* of all genuine delight, that we should *not* be deluded. See *Adam Smith's Posthumous Essays*.[1]

In the latter, (inasmuch as its principal end is not in or for itself, as is the case in a picture, but to be an assistance and means of an end out of itself), its very purpose is to produce as much illusion as its nature permits. These and all other stage presentations are to produce a sort of temporary half-faith, which the spectator encourages in himself and supports by a voluntary contribution on his own part, because he knows that it is at all times in his power to see the thing as it really is.[2] I have often noticed that little children are actually

[1] *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London, 1795), p. 168. Adam Smith's essay " Of the Imitative Arts " discusses in great detail imitation in the several arts, with special reference to their varying degree of closeness to the original object of imitation. The plane surface of painting does not permit a close copy of the object, etc.

This distinction between the copy and the imitation of an object, which is illustrated by Adam Smith's entire essay, was of great importance in Coleridge's aesthetics. (Cf. i. 204, 223 ; ii. 80, 159, 160, 201.) Cf. also *B.L.* i. 55, n. ; ii. 56, 255-56 ; *Anima Poetae* (London, 1895), pp. 82, 87, etc. Coleridge's reference indicates his indebtedness to Smith ; but it must be pointed out that the distinction is essentially that of Aristotle's definition of imitation as compared with Plato's, which Aristotle was more or less consciously correcting. The recurrence of this distinction in criticism is so common that to cite Adam Smith or one of the German aestheticians or any other writer as Coleridge's source is impossible.

The distinction of copy and imitation, as applied to the product of art, has a close connection with the distinction of observation and meditation, as applied to the artistic process. (Cf. ii. 117, note.)

[2] This is perhaps the most succinct definition of Coleridge's theory of dramatic illusion. Cf. the long discussion (i. 126-31 ; ii. 321-22) in Coleridge's introductory lecture on *The Tempest*, which was given in the course of 1818-19, and the brief passage in the third lecture of 1811-12. See also the fine phrase in *B.L.* ii. 6 : " that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith." Other echoes of

deceived by stage-scenery, never by pictures, tho' even these produce an effect on their impressible minds which they do not on the minds of adults. The child, if strongly impressed, does not indeed positively think the picture to be the reality ; but yet he does not think the contrary. As Sir George Beaumont was shewing me a very fine engraving from Rubens, representing a storm at sea, without any vessel or boat introduced, my little boy (then about five years old) came dancing and singing into the room, and all at once (if I may dare use so low a phrase) *tumbled in* upon the print. He instantly started, stood silent and motionless, with the strongest expression first of wonder and then of grief in his eyes and countenance, and at length said, " And where is the ship ? But that is sunk !—and the men all drowned ! " still keeping his eye fixed on the print. Now what pictures are to little children, stage-illusion is to men, provided they retain any part of the child's sensibility, except that in the latter instance this suspension of the act of comparison,[1] which permits this

Coleridge's pet theory are to be found in *B.L.* ii. 107, 189. Finally, cf. the discussion of dramatic illusion in *Letters*, 663-64 (or *Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart*, pp. 262-63). Schlegel says, " the theatrical as well as every other poetical illusion, is a waking dream, to which we voluntarily surrender ourselves." *Werke* (Böcking), vi. 24. This seems to be the obvious source of Coleridge's theory, however far he advanced beyond Schlegel in its development. Yet, in the face of apparent certainty, I hesitate : the watermark of the present manuscript is 1805 ; the anecdote of the fanciful little boy refers almost certainly to Hartley (born 1796) rather than to Derwent (born 1800). After 1811, when the influence of Schlegel begins, ' my little boy ' would be a strange phrase to describe Hartley, and an 1805 watermark seems rather early for a lecture of 1812. This is not proof, but it may justify us in withholding judgment.

Other possible obligations of Coleridge have been pointed out by A. C. Dunstan, *Modern Language Review*, xviii. 198, and D. I. Morrill, *Modern Language Notes*, xlii. 436-44. The idea of the ' waking dream ' was probably known to Coleridge in one or all of the following works : Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, ch. xxiii. ; Herder's *Kalligone* (*Werke*, ed. Suphan, xxii. 155) and " Shakespear " (*Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*, *Werke*, v. 228) ; Schiller's preface to *Die Braut von Messina* (*Werke*, Säkular-Ausgabe, xvi. 120). These are very casual hints which Coleridge developed immensely, but his indebtedness seems obvious.

[1] This phrase, which is essential to Coleridge's theory of dramatic illusion, is taken directly from Kant's definition of the sublime. *Critique of Aesthetic Judgment*, section 25. The idea has been discussed by Miss Morrill, *Modern Language Notes*, xlii. 442, without referring to its source.

sort of negative belief, is somewhat more assisted by the will than in that of the child respecting a picture.

The subject of stage illusion is so important, and so many practical errors and false criticisms may arise, and indeed have risen, either from reasoning on it as actual delusion (the strange notion on which the French critics built up their theory and the French poets justify the construction of their tragedies), or from denying it altogether (which seems the butt of Dr. Johnson's reasoning, and which, as extremes meet, would lead to the very same consequences by excluding whatever would not be judged probable by us in our coolest state of feeling with all our faculties in even balance), that a short digression will, I hope, be pardoned, if it should serve either to explain or to illustrate the point.

It is a general but, as it appears to me, a mistaken opinion, that in our *ordinary* dreams we judge the objects to be real. I say, our *ordinary* dreams, because as to the nightmare, the opinion is to a considerable extent just. But the nightmare is not a mere dream, but takes place when the waking state of the brain is re-commencing, and most often during a rapid alternation, a *twinkling*, as it were, of sleeping and waking, while either from pressure, of from some derangement in the stomach or other digesting organs acting on the external skin (which is still in sympathy with the stomach and bowels) and benumbing it, the sensations sent up to the brain by double touch (*ex. gr.*, when my own hand touches my side or breast) are so faint as to be merely equivalent to the sensation given by single touch (when another person's hand touches me). The mind, therefore, which at all times, with and without our distinct consciousness, seeks for and assumes some outward cause for every impression from without, and which in sleep by aid of the imaginative faculty converts its judgements respecting the cause into a present image, as being the cause,—the mind, I say, in this case deceived by past experience, attributes the painful sensation received to a correspondent agent—an assassin, for instance, stabbing at the side, or a goblin sitting on the breast, etc. Add too that the impressions of the bed, curtains, room, etc., received by

the eyes in the half-moments of their opening, blend with and add vividness and appropriate distance to the dream-image, which returns when they close again : and thus we unite the actual perceptions, or their immediate reliques, with the phantoms of the inward sense, and thus so confound the half-waking, half-sleeping, reasoning power, that we actually do pass a positive judgement for the reality of what we see and hear, tho' often accompanied by doubt and self-questioning, which, as I have myself experienced, will at times become strong enough even before we awake, to convince us that it is what it is—the nightmare.

[1.] Illustration [1] of principles [is] my main object ; therefore [I am] not so digressive as might appear.

2. With approved powers as a poet *Shakespeare* commences a dramatist.

3. Finds the infant stage demanding an intermixture of ludicrous character, as imperiously as that of Greece the chorus, and high language accordant.

4. Advantages of this—greater assimilation to nature ; greater scope of power (more truths, more feelings) ; effects of contrast, Lear and the Fool ; and that the true language of passion becomes sufficiently elevated, by having before heard the lighter conversation of men, in the same piece, under no strong emotion.

5. Nakedness of the stage. Drama then something betwixt recitation and a [a] re-presentation. No scenes. Consequently the laws of unity of place and unity of time, the observance of which must either confine the drama to as few subjects as might be counted on the fingers, or involve gross improbabilities far more striking than the violation [of the unities] would have been. Danger of a false ideal, of aiming at more than what is possible on the whole. [To] supermoralize [is to] demoralize. What play of the ancients, taking their ideal [as the standard], does not hold out grosser absurdities than any in Shakespeare ? On the Grecian

[a] *MS.* ' *an.*'

[1] Here begins a separate fragment, from Egerton 2800, ff. 21-22.

[plan] a man could be a poet, but rarely a dramatist ; on the present a dramatist, not a poet. Different states and degrees of delusion, partly shewn by others before me.[1]

6. Not only are we never deluded or anything like it ; but the highest possible degree of delusion to beings in their senses sitting in a theatre is a gross fault, incident only to low minds, who feeling unconsciously that they cannot affect the heart or head permanently, endeavour to call forth the momentary affections. Pain [should be] no more than what is compatible with co-existing pleasure and to be amply repaid by thought ; else onions or shaving the upper lip [may serve as satisfactory substitutes for tragedy.][2]

7. This leads us to what the drama should be. And first it is not *a copy* of nature ; but it is an imitation.[3] This is the universal principle of the fine arts. In every well-laid out grounds, what delight[a] do we feel from that balance and antithesis of feelings and thought. " How natural ! " we say ; but the very wonder that furnished the *how* implies that we perceived art at the same moment. We catch the hint from nature itself. Whenever in mountains or cataracts we discover a likeness to anything artificial which we yet know was not artificial, what pleasure ! So in appearances known to be artificial that appear natural.[4] This applies in due degrees regulated by steady good sense, from a clump of trees to the *Paradise Lost* or the *Othello*. It would be easy to apply it to painting, and even, tho' with greater abstraction of thought and by more subtle tho' just analogies, even to music. But this belongs to others. Suffice it [to say] that one great principle is common to all, a principle which probably

[a] *MS.* ' *what we delight.*'

[1] Kames, Herder, Schiller, perhaps Schlegel. (Cf. i. 200, note.)

[2] (Cf. ii. 35, 162.) This paragraph and those which follow were detached by H. N. C. and printed in the section entitled " The Drama Generally and Public Taste."

[3] Cf. i. 200, note.

[4] " Nature proved beautiful when it wore the appearance of art ; and art can only be termed beautiful, where we are conscious of its being art, while yet it has the appearance of nature." Kant's *Critique of Aesthetic Judgement* (ed. Meredith), p. 167.

is the condition of all consciousness, without which we should feel and imagine only by discontinuous moments, and be plants or animals instead of men. I mean that ever-varying balance, or balancing, of images, notions, or feelings (for I avoid the vague word, idea) conceived as in opposition to each other ;[1] in short, the perception of identity and contrariety, the least degree of which constitutes *likeness*, the greatest absolute difference ; but the infinite gradations between these two form all the play and all the interest of our intellectual and moral being, till it lead us to a feeling and an object more awful than it seems to me compatible with even the present subject to utter aloud, tho' [I am] most desirous to suggest it. For there alone are all things at once different and the same ; there alone, as [in] the principle of all things, does distinction exist unaided by division—will and reason, succession of time and unmoving eternity, infinite change and ineffable rest.

> Return, Alpheus ! the dread voice is past
> Which [a] shrunk thy streams ![2] . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . . Thou honor'd flood,
> Smooth-flowing Avon, crown'd with vocal reeds,
> That strain I heard was of a higher mood.
> But now my voice proceeds.[3]

We may divide a dramatic poet's characteristics, before we enter into the component merits of any one work, and speaking only of those things which are to be the materials of all, into language, passion, and character, always bearing in mind, that these must act and react on each other—the language inspired by the passion, the language and passion modified

[a] *Read* ' *That*.'

[1] Here, and in the preceding sentence, Coleridge seems to be expounding Schelling's *Transcendental Idealism*, Part VI.

[2] *Lycidas*, 132-33.

[3] *Ibid.* 85-88.

> " O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured flood,
> Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds,
> That strain I heard was of a higher mood.
> But now my oat proceeds."

and differenced by the character. To the production of the highest excellencies in these three, there are requisite in the mind of the author : 1. good sense, 2. talents, 3. sensibility, 4. imagination ; and to the perfection of a work, two faculties of lesser importance, but yet necessary to the ornaments and foliage of the column or roof, we should add fancy and a quick sense of beauty.[1]

Language. It cannot be supposed that the poet should make his characters say *all* that they would, or taking in his whole drama, that *each* scene or *paragraph* should be such as on cool examination we can conceive it likely that men in such situations would say, in that order and in that *perfection*. And yet, according to my feelings, it is a very inferior kind of poetry in which, as in the French tragedies, men are made to talk what few indeed even of the wittiest men can be supposed to converse in, and which both is, and on a moment's reflection appears to be, the natural produce of the hot-bed of vanity, namely an author's closet, who is actuated originally by a desire to excite surprise and wonderment at *his* superiority to other men, instead of having felt so deeply on certain subjects, or in consequence of certain imaginations, as make it almost a necessity of his nature to seek for sympathy, —no doubt, with that honorable desire of *permanent action* which distinguishes genius [?].

Where then [is] the difference ? Each part [should be] proportionate, tho' the whole perhaps impossible : at all events, [it should be] compatible with a sound sense of logic in the mind of the poet himself.[2]

Judging of books by books instead of referring what we read to our own experience, or making it a motive for observation—one great use of books.

Strong passions command figurative language and act as stimulants.

[1] It is characteristic of Coleridge that he says nothing of plot or structure His criticism of Shakespeare was poetic rather than dramatic criticism.

[2] The author of *The Ancient Mariner* here gives one of the most pertinent brief comments upon his poetry of the supernatural, as well as upon the dictum of Aristotle that " the poet should prefer probable impossibilities to improbable possibilities " (*Poetics*, xxiv.).

German bad tragedies ridiculed—in which the dramatist becomes a novelist *in his directions to the actors*, and degrades tragedy to pantomime.

Yet still the consciousness of the poet's mind must be diffused over that of the reader or spectator ; but he himself, according to his genius, elevates us, and by being *always in keeping* prevents us from perceiving any strangeness, tho' we feel great exaltation. Very different kinds of style may be admirable, both in different men, and in different parts of the same poem. Instance of plain style in the story of the Falcon.[1]

[*Genius and Public Taste.*[2]]

Of the dependence of genius on the taste of the public when that taste arises out of wide-grasping, in heart-radicating causes, not by caprice or fashionable imitation, but epidemic and in the very air that all breathe. The taste that depends on accidental causes, genius can, and by degrees *will*, create for itself—but the latter ! Socrates, indeed, [might] walk arm in arm with Hygeia, while pestilence with a thousand furies running to and fro and clashing against each [other] in the complexity and agglomeration of horrors, was shooting her darts of fire and venom all around him. Even such was Milton ; yea, and such, [in] spite of all that has been babbled by his critics in want [?] of a pretended excuse for his *damning*, because for them too profound, excellences,—such too was *Shakespeare*. But alas ! the exceptions prove the rule ! Who would dare force his way

[1] " Heaven preserve us from the modern epidemic of a proud ignorance." Coleridge's note scribbled at the foot of the page, upside down. It may have no reference to or connection with any of the preceding remarks. Cf. *Anima Poetae* (London, 1895), p. 210.

The story of the falcon is the ninth novel of the fifth day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

At this point H. N. C. adds the following note, from an unknown source : " See the different language which strong feelings may justify in Shylock, and learn from Shakspeare's conduct of that character the terrible force of very plain and calm diction, when known to proceed from a resolved and impassioned man."

[2] To introduce this fragment (Additional MS. 34, 225, ff. 165-66) H. N. C. interpolated a note which may be found on i. 253-56. (Cf. i. 204, n. 2, for another interpolation.)

out of the crowd, not of the vulgar, but of the aristocracy of intellect, and presume to join the almost supernatural beings that stood by themselves aloof?

Of this epidemic influence there are two forms of disease most preclusive of tragic worth. The first I have already alluded to, the necessary growth of a sense and love of the ludicrous, and a diseased sensibility of the assimilating power —[an] inflammation from cold and weakness—that in the boldest bursts of passion will lie in wait, or at once kindle into jest, at any phrase which had an accidental coincidence *in the mere* words with something base or trivial. For instance, to express woods not on a plain, but clothing a hill that overlooks valley, or dell, or river, or sea, the trees rising each above each other, as the spectators in an ancient theatre, I know of no other word in our language (bookish and pedantic words out of the question) but " hanging " woods—the *sylvae superimpendentes* of Catullus.[1] [But] let[a] a wit's . . . [?] slang voice call out " the gallows," and a peal of laughter would damn the play. Hence it is that so many dull pieces have had a decent run, only because nothing unusual above or absurd below mediocrity furnished an occasion, a spark, for the explosive materials collected behind the orchestra. This, however, would demand a volume of no ordinary size, however laconically its sense were compressed, if it were meant to instance the effects and unfold all the causes of this disposition upon the whole moral, intellectual, and even physical character of a people—its influences on domestic life and individual deportment, and on the public and national mind. The history of Paris and of French (*i.e.*, Parisian) literature from the commencement of the latter half of the reign of Lewis XIV. to the time of Napoleon, compared with the preceding philosophy and poetry even of Frenchmen.

The second cause is matter of exultation to the philanthropist and philosopher, and of regret to the poet, painter, statuary alone, and to them only as poets, painters, statuaries

[a] *MS.* ' *Catullus— . . . [illegible] not of a nation—let.*'

[1] *Cat.* lxiv. 286. What is Coleridge's objection to the literal translation of *superimpendentes*, ' overhanging '?

—namely, the security, comparative equability, and ever-increasing sameness of human life. Men are now so seldom thrown into wild circumstances and violences of excitement that the language of such states, the laws of association of feeling with thought, the starts and strange far-flights of the assimilative power on the slightest and least obvious likenesses presented by thoughts, words, and objects, and even, by this very power, the after as strange but always certain return to the dominant idea—these are judged by *authority*, not by actual experience—what they have been accustomed to regard as symbols of this state, not the natural symbols; *i.e.*, the self-manifestations of it.

Even so [it is] in the language of man and that of nature. The sound, *sun*, or the figures, *S*, *U*, *N*, are pure arbitrary modes of recalling the object, and for visual mere objects not only sufficient, but have infinite advantages from their v[ery no [a]]thingness *per se*. But the language of nature is a subordinate *Logos*, that was in the beginning, and was with the thing it represented, and it was the thing represented. Now the language of Shakespeare (in his *Lear*, for instance), is a something intermediate, or rather it is the former blended with the latter, the arbitrary not merely recalling the cold notion of the thing, but expressing the reality of it and, as arbitrary language is an heirloom of the human race, being itself a part of that which it manifests. What shall I deduce from this? Even from this the appropriate, the never to be [too much] valued advantage of the theatre, if only the actors were what we know they have been,—a delightful, yet most effectual remedy for this dead palsy of the public mind. What would appear mad or ludicrous in a book, presented to the senses under the form of reality and with the truth of nature, supplies a species of actual experience. This indeed is the grand privilege of a great actor above a great poet. No part was ever played in perfection but that nature justified herself in the hearts of all her children, in whatever state they were, short of absolute moral exhaustion or downright stupidity. There is no time given to ask questions, or pass

[a] *Blurred.*

judgements. He takes us by storm, and tho' in the histrionic art many a clumsy counterfeit by caricature exaggeration of one or two features may gain applause as a fine likeness, yet never was the *very thing* rejected as a counterfeit. O, when I think of [the] inexhaustible mine of virgin treasure in our Shakespeare, that I have been almost daily reading him since I was ten years old, that the thirty intervening years have been not fruitlessly and unintermittingly employed in the study of Greek, Latin, English, Italian, Spanish, and German *belle lettrists*,[1] and for the last fifteen years far more intensely to the analysis of the laws of life and reason as they exist in man, and that every step I have made forward in taste, number of facts, from history or my own observation, and in the knowledge of [the different laws [a]] and the apparent exceptions [from] accidental collision [of] the disturbing forces of them, and know that at every new accession of knowledge, after every successful exercise of meditation, every fresh presentation of experience, I have unfailingly discovered a proportionate increase of wisdom and intuition in Shakespeare—when I know this, and know too that by a conceivable and possible, tho' hardly to be expected, arrangement of the British theatres, so large—*not* all indeed—but so large a proportion of this indefinite *all* (which no comprehension has yet drawn the line of circumscription so as to say to itself, I have seen *the whole*), might be sent into the heads and hearts, into the very souls, of the mass of mankind, to whom except by this living comment and interpretation it must remain for ever a sealed-up volume, a deep well without a wheel or windlass—it seems to me a pardonable enthusiasm to steal away from sober likelihood and share so rich a feast

[a] *These three interpolations are from L.R. The first two supply words probably legible in the time of H.N.C. but now partly or wholly obliterated by a stain.*

[1] Obviously this fragment was written in 1812, if Coleridge was exact in his figures, which is by no means certain. In 1812 Coleridge completed the series of lectures which he had begun at the Scots Corporation Hall, and delivered two more courses, one at Willis's Rooms, and one at the Surrey Institution. There is very little known of his lectures in 1812, and one cannot attach this fragment with certainty to any of Coleridge's known subjects for the year. The water-mark is 1805.

in the faery world of possibility! Yet even in the sober cheerfulness of a circumspect hope, much, very much, might be done—enough, assuredly, to furnish a kind and strenuous nature with ample motives for the attempt to effect what may be effected.

Such, honored sirs![a] were the thoughts and feelings inspired by the general view of the subject. Yonder in the distance see that rich and varied country and the splendid palace or temple which commands it, and nothing insurmountable in the interspace to stop us in our road toward it. We descend from the mountain (pity that we cannot make a crow's flight toward it), and then we discover the Stygian pools or morasses, or even park walls and gates with reformer-traps and spring-guns threatened to trespassers, thickset hedges, and miry lanes—and so at length tread back our road, tired, way-worn, sick at heart, with torn clothes, . . . [?] scratches and . . . [?] with a thorn.

[*Shakespeare's Poetry.*[1]]

In[2] the preceding lecture we have examined with what armour clothed and with what titles authorized Shakespeare came forward as a poet to demand the throne of fame, as the dramatic poet of England; we have now to observe and retrace the excellencies which compelled even his contemporaries to seat him on that throne, altho' there were giants in those days contending for the same honor. Hereafter we shall endeavor to make out the title of the English drama, as created by and existing in Shakespeare, and its right to the supremacy of dramatic excellence in general. I have endeavoured to prove that he had shewn himself a *poet*, previously to his appearance [as][b] a dramatic poet—and that had no *Lear*, no *Othello*, no *Henry the Fourth*, no *Twelfth*

[a] *MS.* '*sir.*' [b] *Blotted out.*

[1] This section comes from note-book No. 25 and probably belongs to the lectures of 1808. On this point, cf. i. 164, n., and i. 253 and notes. Cf. this section with the fourth lecture of 1811-12, with the conclusion of the sixth lecture at Bristol, and with *B.L.*, ch. xv. (ii. 328-33, below).

[2] This first fragment is from pp. 23-25, 28-29, of the note-book mentioned in the preceding note.

Night appeared, we must have admitted that Shakespeare possessed the chief if not all the requisites of a poet—namely, deep feeling and exquisite sense of beauty, both as exhibited to the eye in combinations of form, and to the ear in sweet and appropriate melody (with the exception of Spenser he is [a] [the sweetest of English poets ?]) ; that these feelings were under the command of *his own will*—that in his very first productions he projected his mind out of his own particular being, and felt and made others feel, on subjects [in] no way connected with himself, except by force of contemplation, and that sublime faculty, by which a great mind becomes that which it meditates on. To this we are to add the affectionate love of nature and natural objects, without which no man could have observed so steadily, or painted so truly and passionately the very minutest beauties of the external world. Next, we have shewn that he possessed fancy, considered as the faculty of bringing together [b] [images dissimilar in the main by some one point or more of likeness distinguished].

> Full gently now she [c] [takes him by the hand,
> A lily prison'd in a gaol of snow,
> Or ivory in an alabaster band ;
> So white a friend engirts so white a foe.
>
> *V. and A.*, 361-64.]

Still mounting, we find undoubted proof in his mind of imagination,[1] or the power by which one image or feeling

[a] *MS.* ' *Is &c.*'

[b] *MS.* ' *bringing together &c.*' *The continuation in brackets is quoted from i.* 216, *as Coleridge intended.*

[c] *MS.* ' *she, &c.*'

[1] The famous distinction of fancy and imagination is best studied in chs. iv.-xiii. of *B.L.*, or better, in Shawcross' Introduction to the Oxford edition of this work. It is scarcely justifiable to discuss here fully a point which is so casually included in the Shakespearean criticism, and so thoroughly studied by Shawcross. But it is worth while to point out that the supposed indebtedness to Richter's *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Sections 6-8), though at first glance very plausible, is made absolutely impossible by the fact that Coleridge clearly expressed all the ideas which he might have derived from Richter, in a letter of 1802, *two years* before Richter's book was published. " At best, it [Hebrew poetry] is but fancy, or the aggregating faculty of the mind, not imagination or

is made to modify many others and by a sort of *fusion to force many into one*—that which after shewed itself in such might and energy in *Lear*, where the deep anguish of a father spreads the feeling of ingratitude and cruelty over the very elements of heaven. Various are the workings of this greatest faculty of the human mind—both passionate and tranquil. In its tranquil and purely pleasurable operation, it acts chiefly by producing out of many things, as they [a] would have appeared in the description of an ordinary mind, described slowly and in unimpassioned succession, a oneness, even as nature, the greatest of poets, acts upon us when we open our eyes upon an extended prospect. Thus the flight of Adonis from the enamoured goddess in the dusk of the evening—

> Look ! how a bright star shooteth from the sky,
> So glides he in the night from Venus' eye.
>
> [*V. and A.*, 815-16.]

How many images and feelings are here brought together without effort and without discord—the beauty of Adonis—the rapidity of his flight—the yearning yet hopelessness of the enamoured gazer—and a shadowy ideal character thrown over the whole.—Or it acts by impressing the stamp of humanity, of human feeling, over inanimate objects—

> The pines shorn by the sea wind and seen in twilight [1]

the *modifying* and coadunating faculty." *Letters*, p. 405. This is a more mature form of the distinction than Richter's *later* remarks that *Einbildungskraft* is ' nothing except a potentiated, brightly-colored memory ' (section 6) ; that *die Phantasie* ' makes all parts into a whole ' (section 7).

[a] *MS.* ' *it.*'

[1] This passage can only be understood by quoting its full development in *B.L.* ii. 16-17 : " In the two following lines for instance, there is nothing objectionable, nothing which would preclude them from forming, in their proper place, part of a descriptive poem :

> ' Behold yon row of pines, that shorn and bow'd
> Bend from the sea-blast, seen at twilight eve.'

But with a small alteration of rhythm, the same words would be equally in their place in a book of topography, or in a descriptive tour. The same image will rise into semblance of poetry if thus conveyed :

> ' Yon row of bleak and visionary pines,
> By twilight glimpse discerned, mark ! how they flee
> From the fierce sea-blast, all their tresses wild
> Streaming before them.' "

Then

> Lo, here the gentle lark,[a] [weary of rest,
> From his moist cabinet mounts up on high,
> And wakes the morning, from whose silver breast
> The sun ariseth in his majesty ;
> Who doth the world so gloriously behold,
> That cedar-tops and hills seem burnish'd gold.
> *V. and A.*, 853-58.]

and lastly, which belongs only to a great poet, the power of so carrying on the eye of the reader as to make him almost lose the consciousness of words—to make him *see* everything —and this without exciting any painful or laborious attention, without any *anatomy* of description (a fault not uncommon in descriptive poetry) but with the sweetness and easy movement of nature.

Lastly, he previously to his dramas, gave proof of a most profound, energetic, and philosophical mind, without which he might have been a very delightful poet, but not the great dramatic poet—but this he possessed in so eminent a degree that it is to be feared etc., etc., if [1]—

But chance and his powerful instinct combined to lead him to his proper province—in the conquest of which we are to consider both the difficulties that opposed him, and the advantages.

[*Another draft.*[2]]

1. Sense of beauty—this thro' the whole poem even to almost effeminacy of sweetness—good sign : painter who begins with old men, and old women's face[s], a bad sign—coarse and strong is easily done so as to *strike*.

2. [Power of dealing] with things remote from his own

[a] *MS.* ' *Lark, etc.*'

[1] Evidently, from the analogy of previous similar phrases, this is a reference to another note. Perhaps Coleridge intended to say the weight of Shakespeare's thought might have overburdened his poetry, if he had not been led by chance and instinct to the drama.

[2] This second draft of the preceding fragment comes from pp. 9-10 of the same note-book. By its position it should be the first draft, but as each version of the lecture refers to the other (cf. i. 212, note *b*, and 216, notes 1, 4, 5), I prefer to leave this question to the reader's own judgment.

feelings and in which the romanticity gives a vividness to the naturalness of the sentiments and feelings.

3. Love of natural objects—quote the hare, p. 23 [1]—

[' And when thou hast on foot the purblind hare,
Mark the poor wretch, to overshoot his troubles,
How he outruns the wind, and with what care,
He cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles ;
The many musits through the which he goes,
Are like a labyrinth to amaze his foes.

' Sometime he runs among a flock of sheep,
To make the cunning hounds mistake their smell ;
And sometime where earth-delving conies keep,
To stop the loud pursuers in their yell ;
And sometime sorteth with a herd of deer :
Danger deviseth shifts ; wit waits on fear.

' For there his smell with others being mingled,
The hot scent-snuffing hounds are driven to doubt,
Ceasing their clamorous cry till they have singled
With much ado the cold fault cleanly out ;
Then do they spend their mouths : Echo replies,
As if another chase were in the skies.

' By this, poor Wat, far off upon a hill,
Stands on his hinder legs with listening ear,
To hearken if his foes pursue him still :
Anon their loud alarums he doth hear ;
And now his grief may be compared well
To one sore-sick that hears the passing bell.

' Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch
Turn, and return, indenting with the way ;
Each envious brier his weary legs doth scratch,
Each shadow makes him stop, each murmur stay.
For misery is trodden on by many,
And being low never relieved by any.'

V. and A., 679-708.]

There is indeed a far more admirable description precedent, [that of the horse, 259-318] but less fitted for public recitation.

[1] Perhaps a page reference to an edition of Shakespeare's poems. If it refers to the comment in the other draft upon Shakespeare's natural descriptions, the reference should be p. 24.

4. Fancy, or the aggregative Power—13th [stanza], etc.

[Still she entreats, and prettily entreats,
For to a pretty ear she tunes her tale ;
Still is he sullen, still he lours and frets,
'Twixt crimson shame, and anger ashy-pale ;
Being red, she loves him best ; and being white,
Her best is better'd with a more delight.]

" Full gently now," [1] etc.—the bringing together images dissimilar in the main by some one point or more of likeness distinguished—read from Pocket-book [2]—both common in the writers of Shakespeare's time.

5. That power and energy of what a living poet has grandly and appropriately [said]

To flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude [3]

and to make everything present by a series of images. This [is] an absolute essential of poetry—and of itself would form a poet, tho' not of the highest class. It is, however, a most hopeful symptom, and the *Venus and Adonis* is one continued specimen.

6. Imagination—power of modifying one image or feeling by the precedent or following ones. So often [a] afterwards [is this] to be illustrated that at present I shall speak only of one of its effects—namely, that of combining many circumstances into one moment of thought to produce that ultimate end of human thought and human feeling, unity, and thereby the reduction of the spirit to its principle and fountain, who alone is truly *One*. (Quote the passage p. 28 [4] *before this* observation and p. 29 [5] for

[a] *MS.* ' *often often.*'

[1] Cf. i. 212.

[2] Probably another note-book.

[3] Wordsworth's poem, " I wandered lonely as a cloud." Read ' they flashed.'

[4] This is apparently the other comment upon the imagination in the first draft, which is found on pp. 25 and 28 of the note-book. This is the passage preceding Coleridge's quotation of " Look ! how a bright star," etc.

[5] Evidently Coleridge refers to the passage in the first draft immediately following his quotation of ' Lo, here the gentle Lark.' This similar passage begins on p. 28 of the note-book and ends on p. 29.

7. The describing natural objects by clothing them appropriately with human passions. " Lo, here the gentle lark " . . .

8. Energy, depth, and activity of thought, without which a man may be a pleasing and affecting poet : but never a great one. Here introduce [a]. . . [?] and vulgar passion, and from the excess of this in Shakespeare be grateful that circumstances probably originating in choice led him to the drama—the subject of my next lecture—and end with Chapman.

An [1] endless activity of thought, in all the possible associations of thought with thought, thought with feelings, or with words, or of feelings with feelings, and words with words.

Venus and Adonis.

—Shakespeare [b] born 1564, died 1616 [*aet.*] 52.

Venus and Adonis, 1593.

[Even as the sun with purple-colour'd face
Had ta'en his last leave of the weeping morn,
Rose-cheek'd Adonis hied him to the chase ;
Hunting he loved, but love he laugh'd to scorn :
Sick-thoughted Venus makes amain unto him,
And like a bold-faced suitor 'gins to woo him.]

[Stanza] I. [lines] a. b. Humanizing imagery and circumstance. d. Activity of thought in the play of words. The whole stanza presents at once the time, the appearance of the morning, and the two persons distinctly characterized, and in six simple lines puts the reader in possession of the whole argument of the poem.

[a] *MS.* ' *introduce Dennis's* [?] . . . [?].'

[b] *MS.* ' *Stanzas—Shakespeare.*' *The word* ' *Stanzas* ' *refers in the MS. to the stanza-references given below.*

" *a. b. c. d. e. f. mark the* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. *or 6th line of the stanza,*" *Coleridge's note.*

[1] Here begins a third fragment from the same note-book, from pp. 7-8. As there is no connection between the three fragments, I have followed H. N. C. in printing them in reverse order, for the sake of the sense. The first sentence of this fragment is merely an after-thought, scribbled in at the top of a new lecture, but there is no good reason to change its position.

[Stanza VI.

Over one arm the lusty courser's rein,
Under her other was the tender boy,
Who blush'd and pouted in a dull disdain,
With leaden appetite, unapt to toy ;
She red and hot as coals of glowing fire,
He red for shame, but frosty in desire.]

[Stanzas] 6. 7. 8. Instances of the poetic power of making everything present to the imagination—both the forms, and the passions that modify these forms, either actually, as in the representations of love or anger or other human affections, or imaginatively by the different manner in which inanimate objects, or objects unimpassioned themselves, are seen by the mind in moments of strong excitement, and according to the kind of excitement—whether of jealousy, or rage, or love, in its only appropriate sense of the word, or of the lower impulses of our nature, or finally, of the poetic feeling. It is, perhaps, chiefly in the power of producing or reproducing the latter that the poet stands distinct.

Previous to I., notice the unpleasing nature of the subject, which would not be introduced but that this very reason makes it so illustrative of Shakespeare's characteristics. There are men who can write most eloquently and passages of deepest pathos and even sublimity on circumstances personal and deeply exciting their own passions, but [they are] not therefore poets. Mothers ; Deborah's song [1] : nature is the poet here. But to become by power of imagination another thing, [this is to be a poet]. Proteus, a river, a lion, yet still the god [is] felt to be there. Then his [Shakespeare's] thinking faculty and thereby perfect abstraction from himself ; he works exactly as if of another planet, as describing the movements of two butterflies.[2]

[1] For other uses of this illustration, cf. i. 96 ; ii. 136. Cf. also *B.L.* ii. 43, and Wordsworth's original prefatory note to " The Thorn."

[2] A few memoranda on Shakespeare's sonnets which occur on p. 21 of note-book No. 25, may perhaps be worth preserving in a foot-note. I do not know the edition of Shakespeare's poems to which Coleridge gives page-references, but he mentions the sonnets by their numbers : " Sonnets—64, p. 153 ; 97 and 98, pp. 169, 171. These for deep feeling ; and 109, p. 175. And lastly, for his own belief of his own greatness, 107, p. 174. Concerning his time of life, sonnet 73, p. 157."

[*Shakespeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius.*]

The [1] object which I was proceeding to attain in my last lecture was to prove that independently of his peculiar merits, which are hereafter to be developed, Shakespeare appears, from his poems alone, apart from his great works, to have possessed all the conditions of a true poet, and by this proof to do away, as far as may [be] in my power, the popular notion that he was a great dramatist by a sort of instinct, immortal in his own despite,[2] and sinking below men of second or third-rate character when he attempted aught beside the drama—even as bees construct their cells and manufacture their honey to admirable perfection, but would in vain attempt to build a nest. Now this mode of reconciling a compelled sense of inferiority with a feeling of pride, began in a few pedants, who having read that Sophocles was the great model of tragedy, and Aristotle the infallible dictator, and finding that the *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and the rest, were neither in imitation of Sophocles, nor in obedience to Aristotle—and not having (with one or two exceptions) the courage to affirm that the delight which their country received from generation to generation, in defiance of the alterations of circumstances and habits, was wholly groundless—it was a happy medium and refuge, to talk of Shakespeare as a sort of beautiful *lusus naturae*, a delightful monster,

[1] This long introductory paragraph is from note-book No. 25, pp. 17-20. The date is probably 1808, as I have attempted to show in the notes on i. 164, 253. For an interesting brief summary of the views contained in this section, see *B.L.* i. 22, note. Coleridge there claims priority to Schlegel in regard to his affirmations of Shakespeare's conscious artistic judgment. As Shawcross points out (*B.L.* ii. 270) this claim has some foundation, for there is a fragment in *Anima Poetae* dated October, 1802 (*A.P.*, London, 1895, p. 24), which shows that at this time he already held the views which he later expressed in lectures. And the date of the present manuscript indicates at least Coleridge's independence. But it must be remembered also that Schlegel's essay on *Romeo und Julia* (1797) represents this appreciative point of view, and that Coleridge might possibly have seen it. (Cf. i. 7, n. 1.) And the liberal critics of the end of the eighteenth century were enthusiastic about Shakespeare's artistic judgment, as the Introduction to this edition points out. For the parallels in Schlegel's lectures, cf. *Werke*, vi. 182-84, etc.

[2] This phrase is from Pope's *Imitation of the First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace*, 72. (Cf. i. 154; ii. 281.)

—wild, indeed, without taste or judgment, but like the inspired idiots so much venerated in the East, uttering, amid the strangest follies, the sublimest truths. In nine places out of ten in which I find his awful name mentioned, it is with some epithet of 'wild,' 'irregular,' 'pure child of nature,' etc., etc., etc. If all this be true, we must submit to it; tho' to a thinking mind it cannot but be painful to find any excellence, merely human, thrown out of all human analogy, and thereby leaving us neither rules for imitation, nor motives to imitate. But if false, it is a dangerous falsehood; for it affords a refuge to secret self-conceit,—enables a vain man at once to escape his reader's indignation by general swoln panegyrics on Shakespeare, merely by his *ipse dixit* to treat what he has not intellect enough to comprehend, or soul to feel, as contemptible, without assigning any reason, or referring his opinion to any demonstrated principle; and so has left Shakespeare as a sort of Tartarian Dalai Lama, adored indeed, and his very excrescences prized as relics, but with no authority, no real influence. I grieve that every late voluminous edition of his works would enable me to substantiate the present charge with a variety of facts one tenth of which would of themselves exhaust the time allotted to me. Every critic, who has or has not made a collection of black letter books—in itself a useful and respectable amusement—puts on the seven-league boots of self-opinion and strides at once from an illustrator into a supreme judge, and blind and deaf, fills his three-ounce phial at the waters of Niagara—and determines positively the greatness of the cataract to be neither more nor less than his three-ounce phial has been able to receive.[1]

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1. Apply [2] the phrase[s] and illustration[s] of perspective (*perspectivische* [3]) to the stage.

[1] At this point H. N. C. interpolated two fragments which, in the present edition, may be found on i. 126-27, 256. For another use of the image in the last sentence, cf. ii. 210.

[2] At this point begins a separate fragment, from Additional MS. 34, 225, f. 167.

[3] Presumably Coleridge means *perspectivische* to modify 'phrases' and 'illustrations.'

2. Even as when we see a tower at a distance as round, tho' from reason and reflection we know in reality that it is square or angular, yet still our *sensations* are the same.

Not only a multitude of individuals but even whole nations [are] so enslaved to the habits of their education and immediate circumstances as not to judge disinterestedly even on those subjects, the very pleasure from which consists in their [a] disinterestedness—subjects of taste and *belles lettres*. Instead of deciding concerning their own modes and customs by any rule of reason, nothing appears natural, becoming, or beautiful but what coincides with the accidents of their education. In this narrow circle individuals may attain exquisite discrimination, as the French critics have in their own literature, but a true critic can no man be without placing himself on some central point in which he can command the whole; *i.e.*, some general rule, which, [as] founded in reason, or faculties common to all men, must therefore apply to all men.

This will not produce despotism, but on the contrary true tolerance. He will indeed require, as the spirit and substance of a work, something true in human nature, and independent of circumstances; but in the mode of applying it, he will estimate genius and judgement according to the felicity with which this imperishable soul has clothed and adapted itself to the age, place, and existing manners.

The error in reversing this by considering the circumstances as perpetual, to the neglect of the animating power.[1]

Augustan ages—children's garden. *Centos*—plucked here and there—but rootless.[2]

Whatever has its root in human nature, *is excellent*, and to the source we must go, therefore.[3]

True genius cannot do otherwise: Dante, for instance, to Virgil, Ariosto [to] Homer, Angelo and Raphael [to] the

[a] *MS.* '*its*.'

[1] The three preceding paragraphs are very freely translated from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 4-5).

[2] (Cf. ii. 261.) The metaphor of the children's garden is from Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 5-6).

[3] Schlegel, *Werke*, v. 5.

ancient remains of which they were such enthusiastic admirers.[1]

Art cannot exist without nature ; and what has man of his own to give to his fellow-men but his own thoughts and feelings, and his observations as far as they are modified by his own thoughts and feelings.

Ancients, statuesque ; moderns, picturesque. Ancients, rhythm and melody ; moderns, harmony. Ancients, the finite, and, therefore, grace, elegance, proportion, fancy, dignity, majesty,—whatever is capable of being definitely conveyed by defined forms or thoughts. The moderns, the infinite and [the] indefinite as the vehicle of the infinite ; hence more [devoted] to the passions, the obscure hopes and fears—the wandering thro' [the] infinite, grander moral feelings, more august conceptions of man as man, the future rather than the present,—sublimity.[2]

Lecture.[3]

The subject of the present lecture is no less than a question submitted to your understandings, emancipated from national prejudice : Are the plays of *Shakespeare* works of rude uncultivated genius, in which the splendor of the parts compensates, if aught can compensate, for the barbarous shapelessness and irregularity of the whole ? To which not only the French critics, but even his own English admirers, say [yes]. Or is the form equally admirable with the matter, the judgement of the great poet not less deserving of our wonder than his genius ? Or to repeat the question in other

[1] The sentence is obscure, but it becomes perfectly clear when we turn to Schlegel (*Werke*, v. 6-8), from whom Coleridge is here borrowing in very condensed notes. The later Italian poets and artists, says Schlegel, were compelled by their genius to go directly to nature for their models, however much they professed to form themselves on the ancients.

[2] Schlegel, *Werke*, v. 9-17. Coleridge is merely condensing Schlegel's first lecture, with some possible reminiscence in the second sentence of Schiller's essay " On Naive and Sentimental Poetry." This paragraph was printed in *L.R.* as a conclusion to the section on " Greek Drama."

[3] Here begins a separate fragment, from Egerton MS. 2800, f. 24. The heading, ' Lecture,' is Coleridge's.

words, is Shakespeare a great dramatic poet on account only of these beauties and excellencies which he possesses in common with the ancients, but with diminished claims to our love and honor to the full extent of his difference from them? Or are these very differences additional proofs of poetic wisdom, at once results and symbols of living power as contrasted with lifeless mechanism, of free and rival originality as contradistinguished from servile imitation, or more accurately, [from] a blind copying of effects instead of a true imitation of the essential principles? Imagine not I am about to oppose genius to rules. No! the comparative value of these rules is the very cause to be tried. The spirit of poetry, like all other living powers, must of necessity circumscribe itself by rules, were it only to unite power with beauty.[1] It must embody in order to reveal itself; but a living body is of necessity an organized one,—and what is organization, but the connection of parts to a whole, so that each part is at once end and means! This is no discovery of criticism; it is a necessity of the human mind—and all nations have felt and obeyed it, in the invention of metre and measured sounds as the vehicle and involucrum of poetry, itself a fellow-growth from the same life, even as the bark is to the tree.

No work of true genius dare want its appropriate form; neither indeed is there any danger of this. As it must not, so neither can it, be lawless! For it is even this that constitutes it genius—the power of acting creatively under laws of its own origination.[2] How then comes it that not only single Zoili, but whole nations have combined in unhesitating condemnation of our great dramatist, as a sort of African

[1] This sentence, as well as the two sentences which immediately precede and follow, is based directly on Schlegel (*Werke*, vi. 157). It is a perfect instance of the difficulty of assessing Schlegel's influence with any exactness. The ideas could not be new to any one who had read Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, and Coleridge's eloquent phrases are undoubtedly an advance upon the passage from Schlegel which he is borrowing; yet the verbal parallels are sufficient to make Schlegel's influence certain.

[2] These three sentences are a paraphrase of a similar passage in Schlegel (*Werke*, vi. 157).

nature, fertile in beautiful monsters, as a wild heath where islands of fertility look greener from the surrounding waste, where the loveliest plants now shine out among unsightly weeds and now are choked by their parasitic growth, so intertwined that we cannot disentangle the weed without snapping the flower. In this statement I have had no reference to the vulgar abuse of Voltaire, save as far as his charges are coincident with the decisions of his commentators and (so they tell you) his almost idolatrous admirers. The true ground of the mistake, as has been well remarked by a continental critic,[1] lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form. The form is mechanic when on any given material we impress a pre-determined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material, as when to a mass of wet clay we give whatever shape we wish it to retain when hardened. The organic form, on the other hand, is innate ; it shapes as it develops itself from within, and the fullness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such is the life, such the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms. Each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within, its true image reflected and thrown out from the concave mirror. And even such is the appropriate excellence of her chosen poet, of our own Shakespeare, himself a nature humanized, a genial understanding directing self-consciously a power and an implicit wisdom deeper than consciousness.[2]

[1] Schlegel, of course. See *Werke*, vi. 157-58. This acknowledgment was very unwisely deleted by H. N. C. This passage again is a striking illustration of Coleridge's relations with Schlegel. The idea of the next two sentences is entirely Schlegel's ; the eloquence, which begins here and continues to the end, is entirely Coleridge's. If possible the student should compare the passage from Schlegel, which is too long to quote, with Coleridge's condensation.

[2] This statement of the relations of unconscious inspiration to the directing intellectual consciousness is, without verbal parallels, essentially based on Schelling's treatment of the creative process in art. Cf. the *Transcendental Idealism*, Part VI., and the lecture " On the Relation of the Formative Arts to Nature." For a conclusion to this section H. N. C. used part of another fragment which may be found on i. 228-29.

[*The Characteristics of Shakespeare.*[1]]

1. Expectation in preference to surprize. "God said, let there be *light*, and there was *light*,"—not there *was* light. As the feeling with which we startle at a shooting star, compared with that of watching the sunrise at the pre-established moment, such and so low is surprize compared with expectation.

2. Signal adherence to the great law of nature that opposites tend to attract and temper each other. Passion in Shakespeare displays, libertinism involves, morality. The exception [is] characteristic [of the individual], independent of the intrinsic value, as the farewell precepts of the parent, and [2] having some end beyond even the parental relation. Thus the Countess's beautiful precepts to Bertram, by elevating her character, elevate [a] that of Helena, her favourite, and soften [b] down the point in her which Shakespeare does not mean us not to see, but to see and forgive, and at length to justify. So Polonius, who is the personified *memory* of wisdom no longer actually possessed.[3]

So again folly, dullness itself, the vehicles of wisdom. As all the deities of Homer [?] were in armour, even Venus, etc., so all in Shakespeare strong. No difficulty in being a fool to imitate a fool; but to be, remain, and speak like a wise man, and yet so as [to] give a vivid representation of a fool, *hic labor*, *hoc opus*.[4] Dogberry, etc.[5]

[a] *MS.* '*elevates.*' [b] *MS.* '*softens.*'

[1] This MS. (Egerton MS. 2800, f. 40) was printed in *L.R.* under the heading of "Recapitulation and Summary of the Characteristics of Shakspeare's Dramas." It was introduced by a revised and incomplete newspaper report of the first lecture at Bristol in 1813. (Cf. ii. 254, 259-69. This whole section may be compared with the MS. (cf. i. 230-32) and the newspaper report (cf. ii. 259-69) of the first lecture at Bristol.

[2] If 'and' is omitted, the sentence becomes clearer, though still obscure.

[3] At this point H. N. C. interpolated a character of Polonius from the newspaper report just mentioned. (Cf. ii. 266-67.)

[4] "It is easy to clothe imaginary beings with our own thoughts and feelings; but to send ourselves out of ourselves, to *think* ourselves into the thoughts and feelings of beings in circumstances wholly and strangely different from our own, *hic labor hoc opus*; and who has achieved it? Perhaps only Shakespeare." *Letters*, p. 372.

[5] Here H. N. C. interpolated, again from the newspaper report,

3. Independence of the interest on the plot. The plot interests us on account of the characters, not *vice versâ*; it is the canvas only. Justification of the same stratagem in Benedict and Beatrice—same vanity, etc. Take away from *Much Ado About Nothing* all that which is [not] indispensable to the plot, either as having little to do with it, or at best, like Dogberry and his comrades, forced into the service when any other less ingeniously absurd watchmen and night-constables would have answered; take away Benedict, Beatrice, Dogberry, and the reaction of the former on the character of Hero, and what will remain? In other writers the main agent of the plot is always the prominent character. In Shakespeare so or not so, as the character is in itself calculated or not calculated to form the plot. So Don John, the mainspring of the plot, is merely shown and withdrawn.

4. Independence of the interest on *the story* as the groundwork of the plot. Hence Shakespeare did not take the trouble of inventing stories. It was enough for him to select from those that had been invented or recorded such as had one or other, or both, of two recommendations, namely, suitableness to his purposes, and second, their being already parts of popular tradition—names we had often heard of, and of their fortunes, and we should like to see the *man* himself. It is the man himself that Shakespeare for the first time makes us acquainted with. *Lear* (omit the first scene, yet all remains). So Shylock.[1]

5. The[2] interfusion of the lyrical, of that which in its very essence is poetical, not only with the dramatic, as in the plays of Metastasio, where at the end of the scene comes the aria, as the exit speech of the character. Now songs in Shakespeare are introduced as *songs*, and just as songs are in

Coleridge's discussion of Shakespeare's health of mind, "keeping at all times in the high road of life," and Shakespeare's morality. (Cf. ii. 266, 268.

[1] Cf. i. 55, note, 59-60.

[2] Here begins a separate fragment from Additional MS. 34, 225, f. 51. The two were joined in *L.R.*, and this connection is supported by the numbering and subject-matter, but the evidence is, of course, inconclusive. Only the second fragment has a watermark, which is 1817.

real life, beautifully as they are often made characteristic of the person who has called for them, [as] Desdemona and the Count [1] in *As You Like It*; [they are introduced] not only with the dramatic, but as a part of the dramatic. The whole *Midsummer's Night's Dream* is one continued specimen of the lyrical dramatized. But take [also] the beginning of the third act of [the] first part of *Henry IV.*; represent the [speech of] Hotspur,—

> Marry, and I'm [a] glad on't [b] with all my heart:
> [I had rather be a kitten and cry mew]—

and then [the transition to the lyrical speech of] Mortimer—

> I understand thy looks: [that pretty Welsh
> Which thou pour'st down from these swelling heavens
> I am too perfect in.]

6. Closely connected with this is that Shakespeare's characters are like those in life, to be *inferred* by the reader, not *told to him*. Of this excellence I know no other instance; and it has one mark of real life—that Shakespeare's characters have been as generally misunderstood and from precisely the same causes [as real persons]. If you take what his friends say, you may be deceived—still more so, if his enemies; and the character himself sees himself thro' the medium of his character, not exactly as it is. But the clown or the fool will suggest a shrewd hint; and take all together, and the impression is right, and all [the spectators] have it. And it may be given as soon as the true Idea [2] is given, and then all the speeches receive the light and attest by reflecting it.[3]

[a] *Read 'I am.'*

[b] *Read 'of it.' Coleridge gives Capell's text, which makes blank verse of the original Alexandrine. The Cambridge editors print 'Marry' as a short line.*

[1] The Duke.

[2] As in many other cases, Coleridge is probably using this word, not in the loose general sense, but with a Platonic coloring.

[3] The central idea of this paragraph is also expressed by Schlegel (*Werke*, vi. 197). Though there is no similarity of phrase whatever, and plagiarism is out of the question, the influence of Schlegel is highly probable, because Coleridge elsewhere makes an explicit reference to this passage from Schlegel. (Cf. i. 233, note.) But Coleridge expressed

Shakespeare.[1]

Even the very diction evidencing a mind that, proceeding from some one great conception, finds its only difficulty in arranging and disciplining the crowd of thoughts which from that matrix rush in to enlist themselves. No looking outward by wit or book-memory.

Character. Others so characteristic (*i.e.*, psychologic portraiture) as to be characterless, *quoad* the poet. How wonderfully is Shakespeare the living balance!

Meditation as contrasted with observation. Passion as contrasted with general truths.[2] Contrast with the French drama, with Seneca. The lyric as contrasted with the dramatic—even with the ancients.

The heterogeneous united as in nature. Mistake of those who suppose a pressure or passion always acting—it is that by which the individual is distinguished from others, not what makes a separate kind of him.

The regular high road of human affections. It is not the poet's business to analyse and criticize the affections and faiths of men, but to assure himself, that such and such are affections and faiths grounded in human nature, not in mere accident of ignorance or disease. This [is] most important. He is the morning star of philosophy—the guide and pioneer.

[In] other writers, as Johnson, perpetual artifice to draw us away from ourselves. Shakespeare—oh, read him by this

a similar idea in a marginal comment on Schiller's *Wallenstein* which appears on a copy of his own translation. The date, therefore, is probably, 1799-1800. "*We* learn them [the characters] from the actions and from the descriptions given by other characters, or from particular speeches." *Poetical Works* (Oxford), p. 599, note. This was pointed out by A. C. Dunstan, *Mod. Lang. Review*, xviii. 191-92.

[1] This fragment (from Additional MS. 34, 225, ff. 47-48) has the watermark 1808, and is probably early in date.

[2] Cf. ii. 117, and note.

From another MS. (Egerton 2800, f. 45a) I extract a similar note. This MS. as a whole is almost worthless and need not be reprinted. "Meditation, and observation as its vehicle—chiefly used to bring enough external individualities to balance the internal *character*—and the general truths, the predominance of which in his mind from the earliest period all his earliest works attest (quote from the Lit. Life)." [*B.L.*, ii. 18-20.]

criterion only and then ask your own heart—ask your common sense even—to conceive the possibility of this man being a wild genius, etc., etc. What, are we to have miracles in sport? Or does God choose idiots to convey divine truths by?

I would try Shakespeare compared with any other writer by this criterion. Make out your amplest catalogue of all the human faculties—as reason or the moral law, the will, the *feeling* of the coincidence of the two (a feeling *sui generis*, and *demonstratio demonstrationum*) called the conscience, the understanding or prudence, wit, fancy, imagination, judgement—and then [of] the objects on which these can be employed, as the beauties of nature, the terrors or seeming caprices of nature, the realities and the capabilities, *i.e.*, the actual and the ideal of the human mind, conceived as individual or as social being, as in innocence or in guilt, in a play-paradise or a war-field of temptation—and then compare with him under each of these heads. I abhor beauties and selections in general, and even here if the effect of the poetry were considered; but as proof positive of unrivalled excellence I should like to see it.[1]

The wonderful balance between the progressive action, and the immediate interest of the dialogue.

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1. Drawn [2] from the . . . [?] faculties of the human mind, the idea always *a priori*, tho' incarnated by observation *a posteriori et ab extra*.[3]

2. No appeals to appetites, but to the passions.

3. In the high road of nature.

4. The only poet, except Milton's Eve, who drew women as they are in their incorruptible nature.

5. The only modern English poet who was both a poet and at the same time a dramatic poet.

[1] These two paragraphs were detached by H. N. C. to be printed at the end of the section entitled "Shakspeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius."

[2] This note is one of the marginalia in the Theobald edition of Shakespeare owned by Coleridge's friend, Morgan. Vol. VI., blank recto opposite p. 488. It was first printed by the present editor in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, September, 1927.

[3] Cf. ii. 117, note.

6. The only one who supplied all the beauties of the ancient chorus without its defects and limitations; first, by the exquisite lyric intermixtures, and second, by making general truths the outburst of passion.[1]

7. Reverence for all the professions and established ranks and usages of society—friar, physician, etc.[2]

8. In very few instances mere monsters introduced, as in Goneril—and then with what judgement.

9. Moral and prudential wisdom.

10. Comparative purity.

Extremum[3] *hunc*——. There are three powers: Wit, which discovers partial likeness hidden in general diversity; subtlety, which discovers the diversity concealed in general apparent sameness;—and profundity, which discovers an essential unity under all the semblances of difference.

Give to a subtle man fancy, and he is a wit; to a deep man imagination, and he is a philosopher. Add, again, pleasurable sensibility in the threefold form of sympathy with the interesting in morals, the impressive in form, and the harmonious in sound,—and you have the poet.

But combine all,—wit, subtlety, and fancy, with profundity, imagination, and moral and physical susceptibility of the pleasurable,—and let the object of action be man universal; and we shall have—O, rash prophecy! say, rather, we have—a SHAKSPEARE!

[*Two Lectures at Bristol.*]

I.

Shakespeare.[4]

1. The prejudices of national taste. Poetry in its essence [is] a universal spirit, but which in incorporating itself adapts

[1] Cf. i. 228; ii. 16-17. [2] Cf. i. 9, etc.

[3] Reprinted from *L.R.*, in which this fragment follows the notes on *Othello* as a general conclusion to the notes on Shakespeare.

[4] This lecture, from Egerton MS. 2800, f. 23, is evidently the first lecture at Bristol in 1813. (Cf. ii. 259-69.) The striking similarity of the chief points discussed first led the present editor to this conclusion, which was supported by the watermark, 1810, and by an address, in

and takes up the surrounding materials, and adapts itself to existing circumstances. What it cloaks itself in, it glorifies, like a plant, dependent on soil for many things, yet still retaining its original form [?]. Essentials, therefore, and accidents are the two grounds of judgement.[1]

2. Ground[s] of judgement refer us to our faculties and feelings, to the root of our being, whatever calls most faculties into harmony ; and the difference between mechanical (*ab extra*) and *living* forms. The former [may be] compared to a child's garden of plucked flowers stuck in the earth.[2]

3. The restoration of literature, and its inspiration, and the contrast between the servile critics and the original geniuses, as Dante to Virgil, Ariosto with Homer.[3]

4. The great distinctions between ancient and modern poetry, in music, painting, and architecture.[4]

5. The origin and accidents of the Greek stage contrasted with those of Shakespeare.

6. What [a] did Shakespeare do under these circumstances ?

7. His characteristics.

   1. The unity of feeling in all his pieces. [5]

   2. His keeping always to the high road of human feelings. [Compare] Beaumont and Fletcher, and Kotzebue.[6] No jokes on professions. [See the notes] from my *Romeo and Juliet*, etc.[7]

another hand, to " Mr. Coleridge, White Hart," written across the notes. Apparently Coleridge had used for this lecture the blank outer page of a note sent to him by one of his acquaintances soon after his arrival in Bristol. ' The White Hart,' an old inn in Broad Street, was the place where Coleridge stopped before going to his friend, Josiah Wade, with whom he stayed during most of his sojourn at Bristol. This fact is established by E.H.C.'s transcript of an unpublished letter to the Morgans, dated October 25.—Cf. the lecture with the two sections preceding.

[a] *MS.* ' *The what.*'

[1] Cf. this paragraph with its source in Schlegel's *Werke*, v. 5 ; vi. 158.

[2] The distinction of mechanical and organic form is from Schlegel's *Werke*, vi. 157-58 ; the comparison of the former with a child's garden from *Werke*, v. 5-6.

[3] Probably this is from Schlegel's *Werke*, v. 7-8.

[4] From Schlegel's *Werke*, v. 10-11, vi. 32-33, etc.

[5] Probably from Schlegel's *Werke*, vi. 20-21.

[6] Cf. Coleridge's notes on *Lear*, i. 59-60. [7] Cf. i. 9, 136, 233 ; ii. 145.

3. That ensouling of observation by meditation, as illustrated in [the contrast of] Fielding and Richardson.

4. Peculiarity of Shakespearianism in everything; and yet allowed by all the truest individualizer of human nature.

5. Morality—with a satire [?] in the pocket. Cant.

6. Impetuosity of thought—so strongly influencing his metre, and furnishing a criterion of what is and is not Shakespeare's.

7. Nature of the stage in Shakespeare's time, without scenery. All appealed to the imagination.

8. His mode of drawing character, not by any one description; but by such opinions, half right half wrong, as the friends, enemies, and the man himself would give—and the reader left to draw the *whole*, as in Polonius and Coriolanus.[1]

II.

Richard III[2].

[*Characteristics of Shakespeare; Falstaff.*]

1. Contrast [Richard III.] with Richard II. Pride of intellect [is the chief characteristic of Richard III.]. Shakespeare's sublime morality—how it pervades all his great characters. [Here it deals with] the dreadful consequences of placing the moral in subordination to the intellectual.

[1] Probably from Schlegel's *Werke*, vi. 197-98. (Cf. i. 227.)

[2] This fragment of a lecture is from a transcript by E.H.C. of a notebook containing Coleridge's lectures at Bristol in 1813. (Cf. i. 37-40, 77-81, 121-25, 152-56.) This lecture is the last and probably corresponds with Lecture VI. But Coleridge evidently diverged from these notes, using others or lecturing extemporaneously. (Cf. i. 168-73, 211-18, with ii. 285-86, 287-88.) And the newspaper report was, by Coleridge's own testimony, a bad one. (Cf. ii. 286, n.) Certainly the parallelisms of that report with these notes are vague and few.

There is a gap between the first note on *Richard III.* and that on Shakespeare's reverence for the professions. Probably the numbered heads of this lecture from 2 to 6 are simply lost. But it is possible that the first note and those following may be separate fragments. In the transcript which I have used, a blank follows the first head, and the seventh begins on a separate page.

[See [a] Richard's soliloquies in the first and second scenes of the first act, and his dialogue with Anne in the second scene.[1]]

7. Reverence of classes that are permanent elements of the social state, as physicians, priests, kings. Even [when] worst, yet some palliation thrown in.[2]

8. General spirit of good nature, as in his description of mobs.[3]

9. Lastly the female : no character.[4]

10. (To be introduced before) *Growth* as in a plant. No ready cut and dried [structure] ; and yet everything *prepared* because the preceding involves or was the link of association.

11. The one idea which gives the tone to each play not seldom implied in the titles, which deserve to be mentioned as an *idioticon* [5] of Shakespeare's—*The Midsummer Night'*[*s Dream*], *As You Like It*, the *Winter's Tale*.[6]

12. As a result of meditation on the design of which observation supplies the drapery and the colors that are to harmonize with the other figures. Shakespeare [b] had virtually surveyed all the great component powers and impulses of human nature, seen that the different combinations and subordinations were the individualizers of men and showed their harmony by the effects of disproportion, either of excess or deficiency.[7] Scarcely a change which he has not exhibited, but in his most impressive and in his own

[a] *MS.* ' 450-457-463.' *Page-references to Rann's edition of Shakespeare (1786) ; vol. iv.*

[b] *MS.* ' *this that Sh.*'

[1] After the gap which should be filled by the points numbered 2-6, the following memorandum appears : " Schl[egel : vol. iii.] 69-71 for *Othello*." The reference is to the first edition, and refers to Schlegel's defence of the terrible as used by Shakespeare in tragedy, and to Schlegel's excellent interpretation of Shakespeare's method of characterization, by conflicting dramatic opinions which must be evaluated in their relations to each other and to the speaker. See *Werke*, vi. 195-98. Note the similar references to the same passages from Schlegel on i. 78, and note. H. N. C. printed this note on *Richard III.* among the comments on individual plays. Cf. ii. 30, etc., for similar remarks on Richard.

[2] Cf. i. 9, etc.

[3] Cf. i. 89 and note, 136.

[4] Cf. i. 30, 133 ; ii. 353-54.

[5] Ἰδιωτικόν.

[6] Cf. i. 41, 119, 121 ; ii. 276.

[7] Cf. i. 137, note.

favourite characters the subordination of the moral to the intellectual being.[1] As instances of the same principle in forms and under circumstances and with objects the most diverse imaginable I take Richard III. and Falstaff.

In Shakespeare's females the sweet yet dignified feeling of all that *continuates* society, as sense of ancestry, of sex, etc. A purity inassailable by sophistry, because it does not rest on the analytic processes—but in feeling may be misinterpreted to the worst purposes [2]—but in that sane equipoise of the faculties during which the feelings are representative of all past experience, not of the individual but of all those by whom she has been educated and of their predecessors *usque ad Evam*.[3]

Shakespeare [a]. . . [Henry IV., Part I. : I. ii.]. The first introduction of Falstaff, the conscious [b] intentionality of his wit, so that when it does not flow of its own accord, its absence is felt, and effort visibly employed to recall it ; and the pride gratified in the power of influencing a prince of the blood, the heir apparent, by means of it. His dislike grounded on this to the Duke of Lancaster, first expressing his overrating of wit, and his mortification whenever his own failed.

[Henry IV., Part II. : IV. iii. 83-88 [c].]

L[*an*]. Fare [d] you well, Falstaff : I, in [e] my condition
Shall better speak of you than you deserve.
[*Exeunt all except Falstaff*]

[a] *MS.* ' *Shakespeare Stockdale, p.* 443.' *A page-reference to Coleridge's own copy of Shakespeare's works.*
[b] *MS.* ' *consciousness.*' [c] *MS.* ' 497.' *Page-reference, as above.*
[d] *MS.* '*farewell.*' [e] *MS.* ' *Falstaff—In.*'

[1] Cf. ii. 209, H.C. Robinson memorandum for Dec. 23, 1810 ; and for a fuller development of this point, see *B.L.* ii. 189. This excellent passage goes on to an interesting restatement of Coleridge's theory of dramatic illusion. H. N. C. printed all but the last two sentences of paragraph 12, above, as the conclusion of the notes on the *Tempest*. (Cf. i. 137 and note.)

[2] The editor believes that the words which Coleridge placed within dashes were a false start which should be struck out.

[3] This is evidently the MS. from which H. N. C. drew the similar passage on i. 133.

F[*al*]. I would you had but the wit: 'twere [a] better than your dukedom. Good faith, this same young [sober]-blooded boy doth not love me; nor a man cannot make him laugh.

Richard, the predominance of irony accompanied with manners apparently blunt. This with those immediately round, but for the people as represented by magistrates, a more set hypocrisy.[1]

[*Order of Shakespeare's Plays.*[2]]

Various attempts have been made to arrange the plays of Shakespeare, each according to its priority in time, by proofs derived from external documents. How unsuccessful these attempts have been might easily be shown, not only from the widely different results arrived at by men, all deeply versed in the black-letter books, old plays, pamphlets, manuscript records and catalogues of that age, but also from the fallacious and unsatisfactory nature of the facts and assumptions on which the evidence rests. In that age, when the press was chiefly occupied with controversial or practical divinity,—when the law, the church and the state engrossed all honour and respectability,—when a degree of disgrace, *levior quaedam infamiae macula*, was attached to the publication of poetry, and even to have sported with the Muse, as a private relaxation, was supposed to be—a venial fault, indeed, yet—something beneath the gravity of a wise man,—when the professed poets were so poor, that the very expenses of the press demanded the liberality of some wealthy individual, so that two thirds of Spenser's poetic works, and those most highly praised by his learned admirers and friends, remained for many years in manuscript, and in manuscript perished,—when the amateurs of the stage were comparatively few, and therefore for the greater part more or less

[a] *MS.* '*it were.*'

[1] H. N. C. placed these notes on Falstaff and Richard III. in the comments on individual plays.

[2] The three introductory paragraphs which follow are interpolated from *L.R.* (Cf. ii. 87-89.)

known to each other,—when we know that the plays of Shakspeare, both during and after his life, were the property of the stage, and published by the players, doubtless according to their notions of acceptability with the visitants of the theatre,—in such an age, and under such circumstances, can an allusion or reference to any drama or poem in the publication of a contemporary be received as conclusive evidence, that such drama or poem had at that time been published ? Or, further, can the priority of publication itself prove any thing in favour of actually prior composition[?]

We are tolerably certain, indeed, that the Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, were his two earliest poems, and though not printed until 1593, in the twenty ninth year of his age, yet there can be little doubt that they had remained by him in manuscript many years. For Mr. Malone has made it highly probable, that he had commenced a writer for the stage in 1591, when he was twenty seven years old, and Shakspeare himself assures us that the Venus and Adonis was the first heir of his invention.[1]

Baffled, then, in the attempt to derive any satisfaction from outward documents, we may easily stand excused if we turn our researches towards the internal evidences furnished by the writings themselves, with no other positive *data* than the known facts, that the Venus and Adonis was printed in 1593, the Rape of Lucrece in 1594, and that the Romeo and Juliet had appeared in 1595,—and with no other presumptions than that the poems, his very first productions, were written many years earlier,—(for who can believe that Shakspeare could have remained to his twenty-ninth or thirtieth year without attempting poetic composition of any kind ?)—and that between these and Romeo and Juliet there had intervened one or two other dramas, or the chief materials, at least, of them, although they may very possibly have appeared after the success of the Romeo and Juliet and some other circumstances had given the poet an authority with the proprietors, and created a prepossession in his favour with the theatrical audiences.

[1] Dedication of *Venus and Adonis*.

Steevens' [1] Quarto Editions.[2]

First Epoch.

The London Prodigal.
Cromwell.
Henry VI., first edition ; three parts.
Old *King John.*
Edward the Third.
Then the old edition of [*The*] *Taming of the Shrew* in the *Six Old Plays.*[3]

Übergangswerke.[4]

Pericles (explained by his having placed himself in a new world of *Dichtung und dramatische Mährchen*).

Second Epoch.

All's Well That Ends Well (but afterwards *umgearbeitet*, especially Parolles.)
The Two Gentlemen of Verona—eine Skizze.
Romeo—first copy of it.

Third [Epoch].

Rises into the full tho' youthful Shakespeare . . . [?] negative (*übergangen*) period of perfect . . . [?]
Venus and Adonis and the first Sonnets.
Love's Labor's Lost.
Twelfth Night.
As You Like It.
Midsummer Night's Dream.[5]

[1] Here begins a fragment from Additional MS. 34, 225, ff. 52-53.

[2] *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare*, London, 1766. [Printed by George Steevens from the old quartos.]

[3] London, 1779. The full title of this book, which was published by George Steevens, is as follows : " Six Old Plays on which Shakespeare founded his ' Measure for Measure,' ' Comedy of Errors,' ' Taming the Shrew,' ' King John,' ' Henry IV,' ' Henry V,' and ' King Lear.'

[4] Its plural number indicates that this word is a final comment upon the preceding group of plays, but its position and the sense incline me to suspect that Coleridge intended it to go with *Pericles*, writing a plural form by mistake.

[5] At this point appears a word which the editor cannot decipher.

Richard II.
Henry IV. and *V.* (first [edition] and shortly after the second—N.B.)
Henry VIII. (*Gelegenheitsgedicht*).
Romeo (as at present).
Merchant of Venice.

Fourth Epoch.

Much Ado About Nothing.
Merry Wives of Windsor (N.B. first edition).
Rifacimento of *Henry VI.* (Talbot omitted, probably from the absence of the actor. (. . . [?]).

Fifth Epoch.

The period of beauty is now passed by, and the period of Δεινότης and grandeur [succeeds].

Hamlet.
Lear.
Macbeth.
Timon (an after vibration) [of *Lear* [1]].

Übergang in die Ironie.
Troilus and Cressida (for James the First's Court ? *Langsamkeit*).

Then the Roman Plays.
The present *King John.*
The *neue umarbeitungen* of *Merry Wives*, 2nd edition, [and] *The Taming of the Shrew.*

Measure for Measure.
Othello.

Tempest.
Winter's Tale.
Cymbeline.[2]

[1] The position of these words in the manuscripts indicates clearly that *Lear* (not *Hamlet*, as H. N. C. thought) is the play to which Coleridge intended to refer. The plays are again compared on i. 108-09.

[2] Here follow various non-critical jottings, which have been omitted.

Classification[1] *Attempted*, 1810.

Shakspeare's earliest dramas I take to be,

Love's Labour's Lost.
All's Well That Ends Well.
Comedy of Errors.
Romeo and Juliet.

In the second class I reckon

Midsummer Night's Dream.
As You Like It.
Tempest.
Twelfth Night.

In the third, as indicating a greater energy—not merely of poetry, but—of all the world of thought, yet still with some of the growing pains, and the awkwardness of growth, I place

Troilus and Cressida.
Cymbeline.
Merchant of Venice.
Much Ado About Nothing.
Taming of the Shrew.

In the fourth, I place the plays containing the greatest characters ;

Macbeth.
Lear.
Hamlet.
Othello.

And lastly, the historic dramas, in order to be able to show my reasons for rejecting some whole plays, and very many scenes in others.

[1] Reprinted from *L.R.* The titles of plays have been italicized by the present editor.

Thursday,[1] 25th February, 1819.

Crown and Anchor.

1. Shakespeare's poems as prophetic of his drama—from the *Literary Life*,[2] Vol. I.

2. But if we are to be guided by internal evidence—and how little weight the external ought to have, I have shewn—his earliest dramatic attempt, prior in its first sketch at least to his *Venus and Adonis*, and probably planned before he had left Stratford, is the *Love's Labor's Lost*, Quarto, 1598, page [3] (in Stockdale's edition of 1807) 147.

3. Shortly after I suppose the *Pericles* to have been first produced—from the *Pericles* in Sharpe's edition—blank leaf to the *Titus Andronicus*.[4]

4. And certain scenes in *Jeronymo*.[5]

5. And in the same aera *The Winter's Tale* and the *Cymbeline*, different from the *Pericles* by the entire *rifacimento* when Shakespeare's celebrity as poet and his interest no less than his influence as manager enabled him to bring forward his laid-by labors of youth. The example of *Titus Andronicus*, most popular as well as *Jeronymo* in Shakespeare's first aera, but after by-words of contempt, had led the young dramatist to the lawless mixture of dates and manners.

6. As included in this aera I should place *The Comedy of Errors* (remarkable as being the only specimen of *poetical*

[1] From pp. 91-92 of Coleridge's Note-Book No. 24, which is in the possession of Lord Coleridge. This fragment was designed for the third lecture of the second series of 1818-19, at the Crown and Anchor tavern. (Cf. ii. 319-20.)

[2] *Biographia Literaria*, ch. xv. This chapter is reprinted in the Appendix to the present work.

[3] This is a reference to the note on *Love's Labor's Lost* in Coleridge's own copy of Shakespeare's plays. (Cf. i. 92.)

[4] "Sharpe's edition" is probably the 1809 edition of Shakespeare printed for Vernon, Hood, and Sharpe from Isaac Reed's first Variorum edition (1803). Coleridge probably referred to a note of his own in this edition, on the blank *verso* which follows *Titus Andronicus* and precedes *Pericles* in vol. xii. If so, here is a clue to still another edition of Shakespeare with Coleridge marginalia. It should be pointed out that the prefatory material in the 1803 Variorum to which Coleridge refers on i. 192, n. 1, is not included in this 1809 reprint. These two references deal, therefore, with different sets of Shakespeare's plays.

[5] Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*.

FARCE in our language, that is, intentionally such—so [?] that all the distinct *kinds* of drama that might be educed *a priori*, have their representatives in his works. Too many of Beaumont and Fletcher's comedies, tragedies, and tragi-comedies and the greater number of Jonson's comedies are farce-plots).

2. The *All's Well That Ends Well*, originally intended as the counterpart of *Love's Labor's Lost*, and accordingly entitled, *Love's Labor Won*. 3. *The Taming of the Shrew*. The *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

7. As concluding the aera, the *Much Ado About Nothing*, and the *Romeo and Juliet*.

Second Aera.

8. The *Richard the Second*.

The *King John*.

The *rifacimenti* of the three parts of *Henry VI*. (reasons for refusing this to Shakespeare) and the *Richard the Third*.

The Third Aera.

The two parts of *Henry the Fourth*.

Henry the Fifth.

The Merry Wives of Windsor, and as a sort of historical mask or shew play, *Henry the Eighth*.

Fourth Aera

gives all the graces and faculties of a genius in full possession and habit of power—peculiarly of the feminine, lady, character.

The Tempest.

The *As You Like It*.

The Merchant of Venice,

The *Twelfth Night*,

and finally at its summit, the *Lear*, the *Hamlet*, the *Macbeth*, and the *Othello*.

Fifth and last Aera

when the energies of intellect in the cycle of genius were, tho' in a richer and potentiated form, becoming predominant over passion and creative self-modification—I am inclined to place *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens* (see *Troilus*

and Cressida [1]), the *Coriolanus*, the *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, with the *Troilus and Cressida*.[2]

[*Miscellaneous Fragments.*]

[*Shakespeare's Wit.*]

In Shakespeare and Cervantes it is wit so precious that it becomes wit even to quote or allude to it. Thus Sterne is a secondary wit of this order : and how many a Sterne [there is]—libraries, quartos, etc.[3]

[*Introduction to a Lecture on Shakespeare.*[4]]

In my last [lecture], poets of the Italian and English school, who, like fair and stately plants, each with a living principle of its own, taking up into itself and diversely organising the nutriment derived from the peculiar soil in which . . . [?] grew—or rather, like various fruit branches engrafted on the same tree, each a different sort, but all the same kind, and draining the sap from one trunk and a common root, and that root the allegorical, chivalrous, and at

[1] " *Timon* compared with *Lear* in the blank leaves before *Troilus and Cressida*." Coleridge's note. This comparison of *Timon* and *Lear*, from the source indicated by Coleridge, is printed above (cf. i. 108-09.)

[2] For comparison, the editor adds a convenient recent table from p. 76 of *The Facts about Shakespeare* (New York, 1915), by W. A. Neilson and A. H. Thorndike.

Comedies : L.L.L. 1591, C. of E. 1591, T.G. of V. 1591-2, M.N.D. 1594-5, M. of V. 1595-6, T. of S. 1596-7, M. W. of W. 1598, M. Ado 1599, A.Y.L.I. 1599-1600, Tw. N. 1601, T. & C. 1601-2, A. Well 1602, Meas. 1603, Per. 1607-8, Cymb. 1610, W. Tale 1611, Tempest 1611, T.N.K. 1612-13.

Histories : 1 Hy. VI. 1590-1, 2 Hy. VI. 1590-2, 3 Hy. VI. 1590-2, R. III. 1593, K. J. 1593, R. II. 1595, 1 Hy. IV. 1597, 2 Hy. IV. 1598, Hy. V. 1599, Hy. VIII. 1612.

Tragedies : T. And. 1593-4, R. and J. 1594-5, J. Caes. 1599, Ham. 1602, 1603, Oth. 1604, Lear 1605-6, Macb. 1606, T. of Ath. 1607, A. & Cl. 1607-8, Cor. 1609.

[3] This note comes from the marginalia in Coleridge's own Shakespeare, vol. i. third fly-leaf. It has not previously been printed.

[4] A comparison of this fragment (Egerton MS. 2800, ff. 42-44) with Mr. Carwardine's notes (cf. ii. 312) and the reference in the first line to Coleridge's lecture on the ' poets of the Italian and English School,' identify the fragment as an introduction to Coleridge's fourth lecture of 1818. Cf. the prospectus on ii. 302. The fragment has not hitherto been published.

once individualizing yet amalgamated genius of the Middle Ages ; or the arts and philosophy of the south superinduced on the deeper sensibility, the wilder imagination, in one word, the greater inwardness of the north, and combined into one complex whole, fixed and concreted by the vital air of a common faith. These poets, and our own Spenser more than his predecessors, English or Italian, had indeed by the alchemy of genius modified and transmuted the aliments offered by the soil in which they grew ; but yet, in all their hues and qualities they bear witness of their birth-place and the accidents and conditions of their inward growth and outward expansion.

Not so the poet, whose mighty mind demands my utmost efforts scarcely more than those efforts will require your utmost allowances. But I shall rely on a pardon from your candor, and hope for encouragement from your sympathy, if only the interest of the subject find its counter-weight in your sense of its difficulty. For to what shall I compare our ever-living dramatist ? To the self-sustaining pine, the monarch of some Norwegian precipice, now mourning with a sea-like, almost soul-like voice, as if the spirit of the calm were wooing the breezes in its branches, and now [a]... imperious copes with the swell of the tempest—or with the grand yew, that has cleft itself a way and a rooting-space out of the bare rock, owes no homage of maintenance to soil, no subscriptive culture, but feeds itself from the invisible elements, that tells not its age and owns not the change of seasons—

> Beneath whose sable branches ghostly Shapes
> May meet at noon-tide ; Fear and trembling Hope,
> Silence and Foresight ; Death, the Skeleton,
> And Time, the Shadow ;—there to celebrate
> . . . . . .
> United worship ? [1]

[a] *MS.* ' *now with.*'

[1] Wordsworth's " Yew Trees." In the first line, Coleridge has telescoped three lines of Wordsworth's poem :

> . . . . beneath whose sable roof
> Of boughs, as if for festal purpose, decked
> With unrejoicing berries—ghostly Shapes, etc.

Or if our thoughts turn rather to the expanse and endless opulence, and incessant reproduction of his genius, may we not compare it to that tree, itself a forest, the tree which

> . . . . at this day to Indians known
> In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade,
> High over arched, and echoing walks between,[1]

and in its innumerous boughs we will imagine all the gay plumages and all the sweet warbles of fancy—and lower down the urchin shews, the nimble [?] harlequins and living grotesques of nature, that in strange discords, as strangely resolved into the total harmony, move and chatter at the brooding fakir or meditative humorist that sits at the root—or mock the grasp of dancing girls, or annoy the simple shepherd that

> Shelters in cool and tends his pastring [a] herds
> At loop-holes cut thro' deepest [b] shade— [2]

That such a mind evolved itself in the normal bounds of a human form is a problem indeed. Powers tenfold greater than mine would be incommensurate to its solution, which in its nearest and most adventurous approach must still leave a wide chasm which our love and admiration alone can fill up. Feeble will my words sound to my own ears while I speak of *Shakespeare*; and superfluous must all praises be of the myriad-minded man whom every English heart feels to be above praise.

> Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,[c]
> [What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name ? [3]]

Least of all poets colored in any particulars by the spirit or customs of his age, [so] that the spirit of all that it had pronounced intrinsically and permanently good concentrated and perfected itself in his mind. Thus we have neither the

[a] *Read* '*pasturing*.' [b] *Read* '*thickest*.' [c] *MS.* '*fame, etc.*'

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Book IX., 1102-07.

[2] *Paradise Lost*, Book IX., 1109-10. [3] Milton—"On Shakespeare."

chivalry of the North, nothing indeed in any peculiar sense of the word, and as little of the genii and winged griffins of the East; in an age of religious and political heat nothing sectarian in religion or politics; in an age of misers so flagrant in all the dramas of his contemporaries and successors, no miser characters; in an age of witchcraft and astrology, no witches (for we must [not] be deluded by stage-directions); but the female character, the craving for presight (Macbeth), all that must ever be elements of the social state, etc.

Witness our Colin whom tho' all the Graces
And all the Muses nurs'd; whose well-taught Song
Parnassus' self and Glorian embraces
And all the learn'd and all the Shepherd[']s Throng
Yet all his hopes were crossed, all suits deny'd
Discouraged, scorned, his writings vilified
Poorly, poor man! he lived; poorly, poor man, he died.

And had not [that] great Hart, whose honor'd head
Ah! lies full low, pity'd thy woful plight
Then hadst thou lain unwept, unburied,
Unbless'd nor grac'd with any common rite.
Yet shalt thou live when thy great Foe shall sink
Beneath his mountain tomb, whose fame shall stink
And Time his blacker name shall blur with blackest ink.

O let th' Iambic muse avenge [a] that wrong
Which can not slumber in thy sheet[s] of lead
. . . . . .
O may that man that hath the muses scorn'd
Alive nor dead be ever of a Muse adorn'd.[1]

P. F.

Accidental and Permanent Causes of False Criticism.[2]

Passion has been appealed to—we may then, if only we be honest and good (for poetry and all its sister arts presuppose

[a] *Read 'revenge.'*

[1] *The Purple Island* by Phineas Fletcher, Canto I, stanzas 19-21.

[2] This fragment comes from *A Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison*, Second Series, 1882-93, vol. ii. pp. 269-70. It may be compared with Collier's report of the first lecture of 1811-12, which not only identifies this fragment, but explains

a state of mind and a cultivation of taste correspondent to them, and cannot at once create it), determine what rank, what comparative estimation, we ought to give to this part of our nature—whether it is one of those which, tho' permanent in itself, is perpetually varying the objects that gratify it—such as curiosity, which turns with the disgust of satiety from the last novel or romance to devour a fresh one, destined, like the former, to pass from a *dainty* into a nuisance—or a base passion such as we ought, in that shape at least, to exterminate from our heart—such as envy and its mark scorn—or whether they are indeed the worthy and constituent powers of our noble nature, not only permanent in themselves but always and solely to be gratified by the same outward excellences, the same in essence tho' infinitely varying in form, subject, and degree. Such are our imagination, our delight from the clear perception of truth, and our moral sense, including our awe for the greatness, our pity for suffering, and our indignation at wrongs. In short, has the pleasure you have received had any tendency to make you a better man, or to keep you a good one, or to reward you in part for having been so? To the essentials of a sound judgment concerning the comparative merit of poems this must be sufficient, and might appear easy; but alas! the obstacles are many, and the prospectus has promised for me that I shall discuss them under the name of the causes of false criticism, especially in poetry. Now these may be reduced to two classes: Accidental, from particular circumstances of the age and people among which we live; and the Permanent, or those at least which, as they flow from our common nature, we may safely [expect to find] in every age and in every state of society which we have known, or heard of, or have any reason to anticipate.

The Accidental. 1. The enormous stimulant power of

some of its obscure condensations. The parallelisms of Collier's report and the Morrison fragment, which he could not have seen, furnish another confirmation of the authenticity of Collier's notes. In reprinting the fragment above, the editor has interpolated several phrases in square brackets and has silently made a few corrections of punctuation, etc.

events, making the desire to be strongly stimulated almost an appetite in a large majority of the world, etc., etc., etc. 2. Events, from taxation and their immediate action on our domestic happiness, from the unexampled influence of opinions on the conduct of young men, etc., have made all men more anxious to know what is going on in the world, have made us a world of readers. 3. The passion of public speaking. 4th. Reviews, magazines, selections—these, with newspapers and *novels* (*here introduce the passage concerning novels*), constituting nine-tenths of the reading public, form their habits as readers. 5. This, combining with the increase of books, and therewith the narration of ordinary gossip, produced a substitute for the ever voracious appetite ; and instead of the observations about Miss or Mrs. Such-a-one's dress or behaviour at the village church—[or] the last ball—occasioned a rage for a more dignified gossip about *public* characters—(*Here the Friends*).[1] 6th, The enormous multiplication of authors and books. At first oracles, then preceptors, then agreeable companions, but now culprits by anticipation ; and they act accordingly, flattering basely the imaginary word *public*, which is yet of pernicious effect, by habituating every reader to consider himself as the judge and therefore the superior of the writer, who yet, if he has any justifiable claim to write, ought to be his superior. 7. And lastly, for it would weary you were I to enumerate all the causes for luxury,—lotteries, etc.—the one consoling cause tho' innocently in consequence of its co-existence with above

[1] In the first publication of *The Friend*, as an essay periodical, the number of Thursday, January 25, 1810 (No. 21), began with an attack upon scandalous or gossiping biographies of contemporaries. In the 1818 edition of *The Friend*, this material, which had originally been used as an Introduction to Coleridge's sketches of the life of Sir Alexander Ball, appeared as an introduction to an extract from North's life of the Lord Keeper Guildford (*The Friend*, Second Landing-Place, Essay II.). Coleridge evidently refers to more than one passage from *The Friend*, and probably used also the passage which deals with the relation of an author to his public, to which, without arrogance, he should be able to assume his superiority. Cf. the discussion in the fragment printed above with the original *Friend*, Thursday, January 11, 1810 (a supernumerary, unnumbered essay) and with the same passage as preserved by Sara Coleridge in Appendix G to the 1818 edition (*Works*, Shedd edition, ii. 544).

stated an auxiliary,[1] the greater desire of knowledge, better domestic habits, which yet, combining with the above, make a hundred readers where a century ago there were one, and of every hundred, five hundred critics.

Permanent Causes. 1. The greater delight in being reminded of one's knowledge than of one's ignorance. 2. The effect at[a] first—the very painful effect—of really *thinking*, really referring to our own inward experiences—by the ease with which we accept as a substitute for this, which can alone operate a true conviction, the opinions of those about us, which we have heard or been accustomed to take for granted, etc. Shakespeare's Constance and a mother in real life—yet how many have declared the first unnatural and admired too much silence if in German tragedy, consisting of directions to the *actors*.[2] 3. The vague use of terms, and therein the necessity of appropriating them more strictly than in ordinary life, which yet, because it is ordinary, is the mantle of our feelings, and occasions in us a repugnance to the reasoner, who forbids us to use them as we have been accustomed to do, because poetry is for every man in his own conceit ; and [it is] its glory that [it] is so, but to the chemist, geometrician, anatomist—nay even to every trader he allows it ;[3] this is shewn in the word Taste and the terms connected with it—as the sublime, the beautiful, the grand, the majestic, the picturesque, the delightful, the interesting, and the

[a] *Morrison catalogue*, '*yet.*'

[1] In spite of his awkward phrasing, Coleridge's meaning can be made out with confidence : the greater desire of knowledge and better domestic habits are causes (or a cause, according to Coleridge's sentence) of false criticism, in consequence of their co-existence as auxiliaries with the causes stated above, though they are in themselves innocent and even consoling.

[2] Coleridge is answering a criticism that Constance (*King John*, III. iv.) is too vocal and too consciously metaphorical in expressing her grief. The substitution of pantomime, in directions to the actors, for passion expressed in speech, is not necessarily a nearer approach to nature, he says. See Collier's report of this lecture.

[3] The vague use of terms in ordinary life is supported by associations with customary feeling, which make us rebel against the reasoner's demand for logical distinctions. This is especially true in regard to poetry, which every man judges in relation to his own emotions—which is the glory of poetry. But he allows such careful distinctions to the chemist, geometrician, anatomist, or trader.

amusing. What strange work if an author were forced to refer to any one principle all the senses which ignorance or even the subtlety of momentary analogies may have used any one of these terms under. Example of the man at the falls of the Clyde.[1] In the present instance we will endeavour to act on our own principles, by explaining the sense in which I propose to use the word *Poetry*, generically and abstracted from its various species.

[*Classes of Readers.*[2]]

Four sorts of readers. 1. Sponges that suck up everything and, when pressed, give it out in the same state, only perhaps somewhat dirtier. 2. Sand glasses, or rather the upper half of the sand glass, which in a brief hour assuredly lets out what it has received—and whose reading is only a profitless measurement and dozing away of time. 3. Straining bags, who get rid of whatever is good and pure, and retain the dregs—and this straining-bag class is again subdivided into the species of the sensual, who retain evil for the gratification of their own base imaginations, and the calumnious, who judge only by defects, and to whose envy a beauty is an eye-sore, a fervent praise respecting another an ear-grievance ; and the more virulent in its action because the miserable man does not dare confess the truth to his own heart. And lastly, the Great Mogul's diamond, sieves, which is perhaps going further for a simile than its superior dignity can repay, inasmuch as a common colander would have been equally symbolic. But imperial or culinary, these are the only good, and I fear the least numerous, who assuredly retain the good while the superfluous or impure passes away and leaves no trace.

[1] This person (or his wife, according to another account) used the terms ' sublime ' and ' pretty ' as synonymous. Cf. i. 182 ; ii. 62-63 ; *B.L.* ii. 224-25 ; *Table-Talk*, June 24, 1827 ; and Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journals* (London, 1897), i. 195.

[2] This fragment, which is now published for the first time, comes from pp. 2-3 of Coleridge's note-book No. 25. The fragment printed above was certainly used for the second lecture of 1811-12 (cf. ii. 64), but I believe that it was first used for the lectures of 1808. On the date of the materials from note-book No. 25, cf. i. 164, n., and 253, notes.

[*The Use of General Terms.*[1]]

1. The four classes of readers : sponges ; sand-glasses ; straining-bags (sensuality, calumny)—and by the bye, the history of the Bible by a Mohawk for the use of the Mohawks, Cain and Abel, the assassination [of] Eglon, the very fat man, by Ehud, a man left-handed, of Sisera asleep by Jael, David and Goliath, Judith and Holofernes, Herod's Massacre of the Innocents, and the last Conflagration—great Mogul's diamond (sieves).

2. Of the various causes which I mentioned as impeding the acquisition of a just taste in the fine arts in general, but especially in poetry, the one which more perhaps than any other, bears upon not only the subject of these lectures, and which alone I can anticipate as likely to occasion perplexity, or misunderstanding, and the feeling of repugnance which arises in all well-constituted minds when paradoxes and seeming protests against opinions established among men by common suffrages are obtruded on their attention, is the lax use of general terms—rather the extending this laxity of expression beyond ordinary conversation, in which it is not only natural, but a necessary result of that process by which words are forever acquiring new shades of mean[ing]. General terms [are] confined to one individual sense, such as " indorse," and *vice versa*, words originally expressing one particular thing [are] extended to a whole class, such as " virtue," which at first meant the possession or existence of manly strength, [was] thence transferred to fortitude, or the truest and most appropriate strength, and is now become the class-term of moral excellence in all its different species.

So far from blaming those who call a thing beautiful, for instance, where strictly speaking it should have been called delightful or pleasant, I should think it a mark of pedantry

[1] This fragment probably belongs in close connection with that preceding, if one may judge by Collier's notes of the second lecture of 1811-12, in which this MS. was evidently used. The editor has no theory to account for the Biblical allusions to sudden death enumerated in the amazing parenthesis above. The fragment comes from Egerton MS. 2800, f. 9, and has not previously been published.

and affectation to labor after a constant precision on occasions where the whole effect we wish to produce is to be produced without it—in short, where our meaning is completely understood. It was my design, therefore, only to guard you against the expectation (for habit always breeds expectation) of the same laxity in the investigation of a philosophic question—against the extension of a liberty quite allowable when we are taking things in the gross, to other employments of the understanding, the very essence of which is analytic, in which our avowed purpose is to separate, not to blend, to discover what each given object has peculiar to itself rather than what it has in common with many others—or to speak more accurately, to do the former first, to distinguish subtly in order that we then be able to assimilate truly.

I will at once exemplify my position in general by a fact that at the same time lead[s] me [at] once into the main road on which I am henceforward to travel with no other digressions or deviations than perhaps to pluck a chance flower from the hedge or neighbouring field. It has, I doubt not, occurred often to many of my auditors, as well as to myself, when the conversation has turned on literature, to hear it asked, whether we think Mr. Pope a great poet—the offence and shock given to many—the dispute warm [?]—the disputants leave off with but a mean opinion of each other—yet never thought that the dispute was strictly preposterous, *i.e.*, began at the wrong end, and that each should have first ascertained what the other understood by the word *Poetry*. If the veracious Lemuel Gulliver on his return from his celebrated travels, and previous to his publication, had mentioned to us the names of two public characters in the country which an unfortunate alien act had compelled him to leave, and then asked, which of the two we thought the nobler Houyhnhnm, we should most certainly, if only we could neigh out the word, answer by asking him, what is a H[ouyhnhnm] ? What do you mean by the word ? The endless disputes where no real difference existed in the disputants, which I have witnessed, and often, I doubt not, took a warm part in, and those in morals, politics, and religion, as

well as in literature, convince me that I have no less reason to commence by explaining the various senses of the word, Poetry, before I can address you on the comparative merit of certain poets, and assign that one sense to which I shall confine my use of the term and my reasons for so confining it.

[*English Metres.*[1]]

⏑ = short syllable.

– = ⏑ ⏑

⏑ ⏑ a Pyrrhic or Dibrach, as *body*, *spirit*.

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ a Tribrach, as *nobody*, when hastily pronounced.

⏑ – an Iambic, as *delight*.

– ⏑ a Trochee, as *lightly*.

– – a Spondee, as *God spake*.

N.B.—The fewness of spondees in single words in our, and indeed in the modern languages in general, makes perhaps the greatest distinction between them and the Greek and Latin, at least metrically considered.

– ⏑ ⏑ a Dactyl, as *merrily*.

⏑ ⏑ – an Anapaest, as *apropos*, or the first three syllables of *ceremony* [ceremonious ?].

⏑ – ⏑ an Amphibrach, as *delightful*.

– ⏑ – an Amphimacer, as *over hill*.

– – ⏑ a Bacchius, as *Helvellyn*.

⏑ – – an Anti-bacchius, as *the Lord God*.

– – – a Molossus, as *John James Jones*.

These, which are called simple feet, may suffice for understanding the metres of Shakespeare, for the greater part;

[1] This fragment, which in *L.R.* appears in the notes on *Midsummer Night's Dream*, has no connection with that play, but comes from Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, vol. i., the verso of the second fly-leaf.

but Milton cannot be made harmoniously intelligible without the composite feet, Ionics, Paeons, and Epitrites.[1]

[*The Permanence of Poetry.*[2]]

Unaccustomed to address such an audience, and having lost by a long interval of confinement the advantages of my former short schooling, I had in my last lecture miscalculated the proportion of my matter to my time, and by bad economy and an unskilful management, the several heads of my discourse failed in making the *performance* correspond to the promise publicly circulated in the weekly annunciation of the subjects to be treated of. It would indeed have been wiser in me, and perhaps better on the whole, if I had caused my lectures to be announced only as continuations of the main subject. But if I be, as perforce I must be, gratified by the recollection of whatever has appeared to give you gratification, I am conscious of something better, tho' less flattering, a sense of unfeigned gratitude for your forbearance with my defects. Like affectionate guardians, you see without disgust the awkwardness, and witness with sympathy the growing pains, of a youthful endeavour, and look forward with a hope which is its own reward, to the contingent results of practice, to its intellectual maturity.

In my last address I had defined poetry [3] (and I have been

[1] Coleridge passes on to give the derivation of the names for the various feet.

[2] This fragment comes from pp. 11-15 of Coleridge's note-book No. 25. It has been pointed out above (cf. i. 164, n.) that the notes at the beginning of this note-book probably antedate 1808, since that date appears on a later page. The present fragment offers strong evidence to support this, for it seems clear that Coleridge's ' former short schooling ' must be that of the first two lectures of 1808, that the ' long interval of confinement ' is the illness which immediately followed, and that ' my last lecture ' is one of the first lectures after Coleridge's resumption of his obligations. It is barely possible, however, that the ' former short schooling ' refers to the whole series of 1808 ; and the latter part of this fragment was certainly used in the second lecture of 1811-12. But the reference to the ' long interval of confinement' seems to make this possibility unlikely, especially in consideration of the other evidence available. Cf. the next note.

[3] This seems definitely to exclude the lectures of 1811-12, if we may trust Collier's notes on the first lecture of that series. The subject-matter

requested to repeat the definition) to be the art, or whatever better name our language may afford, of representing external nature and human thoughts and affections, both relatively to human affections, to the production of as great immediate pleasure in each part as is compatible with the largest possible sum of pleasure on the whole. Now this definition applies equally to painting and to music as to poetry ; and in truth the term " poetry " is alike applicable to all three. The vehicle alone constitutes the difference ; and the name " poetry " is rightly applied by eminence to measured *words*, only because the sphere of their action is far wider, the power of giving permanence to them much more certain, and incomparably greater the facility, by which all men, not defective by nature or disease, may be enabled to derive habitual pleasure and instruction from them. On mentioning these considerations to a painter of great genius, who had been, from most honourable enthusiasm, extolling his own art, he was so struck with their truth, that he exclaimed, " I want no other arguments. Poetry, *i.e.*, verbal poetry, must be the greatest ; all that proves final causes in the world, proves this ; it would be shocking to think otherwise ! " And truly, deeply, O ! far more than words can express, as I venerate the Last Judgment and the Prophets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti,—yet the very pain which I repeatedly felt as I lost myself in gazing upon them, the painful reflection that their having been painted in *fresco* was the sole cause that they had not been abandoned to all the accidents of a dangerous transportation to a distant capital, and that the same caprice which made the Neapolitan soldiery destroy all the exquisite masterpieces of the walls of the church of the Trinità de' Monti, after the retreat of their antagonist barbarians, might as easily have made vanish the rooms and open gallery of Raffael, and the yet more unapproachable wonders of the sublime Florentine in the Sixtine Chapel, forced upon my mind the reflection—how grateful the human race ought to

of this fragment belongs to the second lecture (cf. ii. 69-70), and this was the lecture in which Coleridge began upon his definition of poetry.

be that the works of Euclid, Newton, Plato, Milton, Shakespeare, are not subjected to similar contingencies,—that they and their compeers, and the great, tho' inferior, peerage of undying intellect, are *secured*! secured even from a second irruption of Goths and Vandals, in addition to the many other safeguards, by the vast empire of English language, laws, and religion founded in America thro' the overflow of the power and virtue of my country—and that now the[a] great and certain works of genuine fame can only cease to act for mankind when they themselves cease to be men, or when the planet on which they exist shall have altered its relations, or have ceased to be. Lord Bacon, in the language of the gods, if I may use an Homeric phrase, expressed a similar thought (*Advancement of Learning*, Book I., page 35 (4th edition[1]) last paragraph but one).

> Lastly,[b] [leaving the vulgar arguments, that by learning man excelleth man in that wherein man excelleth beasts; that by learning man ascendeth to the heavens and their motions, where in body he cannot come; and the like; let us conclude with the dignity and excellency of knowledge and learning in that whereunto man's nature doth most aspire, which is, immortality or continuance: for to this tendeth generation, and raising of houses and families: to this buildings, foundations, and monuments; to this tendeth the desire of memory, fame, and celebration; and in effect the strength of all other human desires. We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twenty-five hundred years or more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities, have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statuaes of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar; no nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last, and the copies cannot but leese of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetual renovation. Neither are they fitly to be called images, because they generate still, and

[a] *MS.* '*the the.*'

[b] *MS.* '*Lastly, etc.*'

[1] Edition of 1778.

cast their seeds in the minds of others, provoking and causing infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages. So that if the invention of the ship was thought so noble, which carrieth riches and commodities from place to place, and consociateth the most remote regions in participation of their fruits; how much more are letters to be magnified, which as ships pass through the vast seas of time, and make ages so distant to participate of the wisdom, illuminations, and inventions, the one of the other? [1] . . .]

As the main object for which I have undertaken these lectures is to enforce at various times and by various arguments and instances the close and reciprocal connections of just taste with pure morality, I cannot permit myself to consider this as a digression; especially as, without that acquaintance with the heart of man, or that docility and childlike gladness to be made acquainted with it, which those only can have who dare look at their own hearts, and that . . .[2] with a steadiness which religion only has the power of reconciling with sincere humility—I am deeply convinced that no man, however wide his erudition, however patient his antiquarian researches, can possibly understand, or be worthy of understanding, the writing of *Shakespeare*.[3]

[1] *Advancement of Learning*, Book I, last paragraph but one. The text used above is that of Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (London, 1857), iii. 318. (Cf. ii. 114.)

[2] " N.B. With a *low quick voice*." Coleridge's parenthetical note.

[3] H.N.C. printed all of this fragment except the last paragraph in the section called " The Drama Generally and Public Taste." The last paragraph was placed in " Shakspeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius."

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